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BEGINNINGS OF LITERARY CULTURE

IN THE

OHIO VALLEY

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

BY

W. H. VENABLE, LL.D.

Author of "A School History of the United States," "Foot-prints of the Pioneers," "June on the Miami," "Melodies of the Heart," "The Teacher's Dream," etc.

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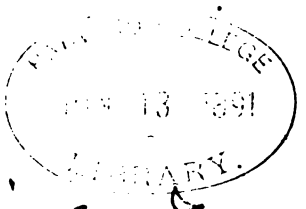

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PREFACE.

More than twenty years ago, in preparing for publication a series of articles on the libraries of Cincinnati, the writer had occasion to glance through a good many books of western origin, and to examine files of the earliest newspapers and magazines issued in the Central States. This incidental rummage through the alcoves of a dozen dusty libraries led to further investigation, and awakened curiosity to study the intellectual agencies which created the first literary institutions in the Ohio Valley. Various items of information concerning local writers and writings, from print and manuscript, and from the stored memory of persons acquainted with the general subject, furnished a stock of material which seemed worth preserving. A certain historical value attaches to memoranda derived from interviews with literary veterans whose minds are rich in authentic reminiscences of

"The days when we were pioneers."

Data obtained from the sources mentioned supplied the substance of a course of lectures on Western Poets and Poetry, delivered in College Hall, Cincinnati, in the winter of 1881, and afforded topics for occasional contributions to the Commercial Gazette, the Magazine of Western History, and the Ohio Historical and Archæological Quarterly, in the years 1886–7. Portions of the lectures and published sketches alluded to are reproduced in this vol-

ume, in revised form, and with much additional matter, never before in print.

The discursive, and even desultory character of the present book—its defects as to arrangement, proportion, and unity, will be pardoned, in consideration of the fact that the work was not fore-planned, not a regularly developed essay or treatise, but a repository of accumulated notes. To condense, classify, and connect the gathered fragments, and to dispose all under not unsuitable headings, so as to produce a convenient reference book, has been the unambitious endeavor of the author. It was at the urgent advice of several gentlemen prominent in letters, and interested in preserving for historical and literary purposes such ana as these pages record, that the decision was made to put forth, in book form, the chapters here collected under the title Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley.

Though not confined strictly to the history of *beginnings*, this imperfect survey of the cultural elements of early western society is concerned, in the main, with persons and events belonging to the period closed by the Civil War. As a rule, the biographical parts of the narrative relate to the dead; but exceptions are made in the case of many noted men and women, yet living, who achieved reputation before the year 1860. Brief mention of numerous living writers will be found, usually in footnotes, in the chapter on Early Periodical Literature, which deals with years quite recent.

Doubtless there will be missed from the index names that should have appeared, but no invidious discrimination is intended. The contents of this volume, far from exhausting the subjects discussed, are merely suggestive. These gleanings show only specimen sheaves, not a com-

plete harvest. The collector gathered most of his material from the sources nearest at hand, not having had leisure or opportunity to examine, with equal care, all parts of the wide field indicated by the title of the book. Whatever is wanting to complete it, this contribution to the history of early culture in the Ohio country is offered as a report of progress.

The author is indebted to a number of ladies and gentlemen, who, in several ways, have aided in the preparation of this book. Special acknowledgment is made to Col. Reuben T. Durrett, of Louisville, Ky., for much information in regard to literary matters in Kentucky; to Mr. Henry Cauthorn, of Vincennes, Ind., who contributed an entire chapter on the literary beginnings of Indiana; to William D. Gallagher, whose cyclopediac knowledge of western writers extends over a period of three-quarters of a century; to Mr. Robert W. Steele, of Dayton, O., in whom courtesy and public spirit unite to help every good cause; and to Mr. Robert Clarke, of Cincinnati, without whose cordial feeling toward ventures of the kind, this volume would not have been issued. Thanks are due, also, for the loan of books and manuscripts, or for letters of information, or other polite favor relating to this publication, to Mr. A. C. Quisenberry, Lexington, Ky.; Hon. Harvey Rice, Cleveland, O.; Hon. Horace P. Biddle, Logansport, Ind.; Mrs. Mary M. Coggeshall, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. M. E. Meline, Cincinnati; Mrs. Sarah H. Foote, Cincinnati; Mrs. E. T. Swiggert, Morrow, O.; Mrs. Alice W. Brotherton, Cincinnati; Hon. Chas. D. Drake, Washington, D. C.; Hon. A. H. McGuffey, Cincinnati; Mr. Wm. Anderson Hall, Cincinnati; Mrs. Josephine Foster, Cincinnati; Mr. Moncure D. Conway, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Mr. Nathan Baker and family, Cincinnati; Mr. Emerson Ben-

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CINCINNATI, *May* 18, 1891.

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Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley.

CHAPTER I.

SOME EARLY TRAVELERS AND ANNALISTS.

In a letter to R. W. Emerson, dated July 8, 1851, Thomas Carlyle wrote as follows: "I lately read a small old brown French duodecimo, which I mean to send you by the first chance there is. The writer is Capitaine Bossu:[1] the production, a Journal of his experiences in 'La Louisiana,' 'Oyo' (Ohio), and those regions, which looks very genuine, and has a strange interest to me, like some fractional Odyssey or letter. Only a hundred years ago, and the Mississippi has changed as never valley did: in 1751, older and stranger, looked at from *its* present date, than Balbec or Nineveh! Say what we will, Jonathan is doing miracles (of a sort) under the sun in these times now passing. Do you know *Bartram's*[2] *Travels?* This is of the Seventies (1770) or so; treats of Florida chiefly, has a wondrous kind of floundering eloquence in it; and has also grown immeasurably *old.* All American libraries ought to provide themselves with that kind of book; and keep them as a kind of future biblical article."

[1] Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales, Contenant une Relation des differents peuples qui habitent les environs du grande fleuve Saint Louis, appellé vulgairement le Mississippi; leur Religion; leur Gouvernement; leurs Guerres, leur Commerce. Par M. Bossu, Amsterdam, 1768.

[2] Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country, the Extensive Territories of the Muscogulges, or Creek Confederacy, and the Country of the Choctaws. By William Bartram. Plates. 8vo. London, 1792.

Writing a month later to the same appreciative correspondent, the great Scotchman said: "Along with the sheets [of the life of Sterling] was a poor little French book for you—Book of a poor Naval *Mississippi* Frenchman, one 'Bossu,' I think; written only a century ago, yet which already seemed old as the Pyramids in reference to those strange, fast-growing countries. I read it as a kind of defaced *romance;* very thin and lean, but all *true*, and very marvelous as such." The books thus strikingly characterized by Carlyle represent a species of writings constituting the very foundation of western literature.

The archives of the Central Mississippi Valley are rich in records of discovery, exploration, adventure, and early scientific observation. The journals and memoranda of those who, from sight or hearsay, gave report of the Indian country before it was reclaimed for the uses of civilization, show, as it were, the dark theater of history, ere yet the curtain had risen on the great play of State-making. How like a voice crying in the wilderness, fall upon the mind's ear, the relations of Marquette and the other original explorers of the interior of the continent. When we read the strange travels of Spaniard, Frenchman, or Englishman, in old Florida or Louisiana, in the years of the rivalry of Europe's leading nations for supremacy in the New World, we seem to realize the beginning of the beginnings. We stand on prehistoric ground, and wait the genesis of a people. We see the red-tribes begin to retreat westward, fighting as they yield; and we behold the slow coming-in, from east, and south, and north, of the hunter, the chopper, the trader, the maker of farm and town. In dingy-paged volumes of old books we learn what manner of men and women were those who first set foot in the western forest, and dared the bloody game of Life-or-Death with the savages.

The beginnings of culture in the west were dependent on what was said about the country and the settlers. Many of the first books relating to the frontier were written by outsiders, sojourners, whose motive was to tell the Old World what the New was like. These books influ-

enced migration, and made no slight impression on the minds of the pioneers. Narratives of travel, and sketches of backwoods' trial and adventure, naturally became the favorite reading matter of the log-cabin. The character of the families that had gone west to grow up with the country, was shaped by this kind of primitive literature.

As settlement proceeded, and society became organized, the settlers themselves took occasion to employ the goose-quill, in the way of chronicle and description, and thus arose a rude indigenous literature. The writers were jealous of the reputation of their adopted backwoods, and wrote with provincial zeal. The opinions of foreign travelers came to be quite generally read and discussed; especially the reports of the more critical tourists. The uncomplimentary account of the American common people, as rendered by such writers as Wald, Ashe, and Basil Hall, though very disagreeable to such as were satirized in the harsh pages, formed what a distinguished editor calls "mighty interesting reading," and no doubt had a wholesome effect, as did afterward the bitter medicines administered by Mrs. Trollope, Captain Marryatt, and Charles Dickens. Of more importance than such books of general travel are numerous carefully prepared journals of scientific character, giving in a most delightful style observations on the archaeology and natural history of the new regions. Bartram's "Travels," the "floundering eloquence" of which so impressed Carlyle, belongs to the scientific department of our ancient literature. The Bartrams, John, born 1701, and William, born in 1739, were Pennsylvanians, and both eminent in botany. The "Travels" of William Bartram was first published in Philadelphia, in 1791. Coleridge honored it with his praise, calling it "a work of high merit every way."

Travels, anticipating by nearly a century those of Bossu, were undertaken by his countrymen, the French explorers of the Mississippi, in the last quarter of the Seventeenth century. Who that has read can ever forget the vivid and intensely dramatic "relations" of those devoted actors in the romantic drama of discovery and con-

quest: Marquette, Allouez, Membre, Hennepin, Anastase Douay, Cavelier, St. Cosme, Le Sueur, Gravier, and Guignas, covering a period of fifty-five years, from 1673 to 1728. These heroic Jesuits tell the simple, but absorbing, story of a half century's endeavor to learn the mystery of the mighty Mississippi, and the shifting "nations" that dwelt along its shores. As one pursues the marvelous continued tale, more strange than fiction, he floats along unknown waters in a bark canoe; sees the herded buffaloes feeding on the shore; meets thronging savages in lodge or wild-woods, and smokes the calumet of peace; visits rude temples of the sun-god; joins with the gentle messengers of a new religion as they erect the cross of Christ in the shadow of the forest and sing the holy mass to the naked chiefs who wonder the more the less they comprehend. The labors of the indefatigable John Gilmary Shea[1] have put within every reader's reach the complete series of narratives in clear translation, giving the French accounts of the discovery and exploration of the Mississippi, and early voyages up and down that magnificent stream. These "relations" draw a sort of irregular line of uncertain history along the region of the Great Lakes, down the Mississippi, and out through the Gulf of Mexico. The early *voyageurs* kept close to the watercourses. They had acquaintance with the Wisconsin, the Illinois, and some other affluents of the Mississippi, but, for the most part, their knowledge of the tributaries of the great stream was confined to what they could see in passing the mouths of the inflowing rivers, or what they could learn by inquiry of the Indians. But the time was soon to come when, ascending the Ohio, and every other stream that finds its way to the Father of Waters, the

[1] Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley. With the Original Narratives of Marquette, Allouez, Membre, Hennepin, and Anastase Douay. By John Gilmary Shea. 8vo. pp. 268. New York, 1852.

Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi, by Chevalier, St. Cosme, Le Sueur, Gravier, and Guignas. With Introduction, Notes, and an Index. By John Gilmary Shea. 4to. pp. 191. Albany, 1861.

French canoe should penetrate the mystery of the inland, and bring back authentic information of what the Indian, the Spaniard, the Saxon were doing or planning in the region between the Gulf and the Lakes, between the Mississippi and the Appalachians. French settlements were soon to be made in Southern Illinois and Indiana, and Gaul was to gain a foothold in the western part of the Ohio Valley three-quarters of a century before the first English settlements were made at the head-waters of *la belle riviere.* What La Salle may have said or thought of the "Fair River," which he discovered two centuries and a quarter ago, is left to conjecture. But we possess definite information concerning the impressions of many explorers who spied out the Ohio and its basin in the eighteenth century. Christopher Gist, agent and surveyor for the Ohio Company of Virginia, made a venturesome trip to the West in the year 1750–1. From his southern home, on the Yadkin, this wood-wise scout and shrewd reader of Indian character wended his way to Logstown, an Indian village on the Ohio a few miles below the fork of the Allegheny and Monongahela, and proceeded thence, in company with George Croghan,[1] of Pennsylvania, across what is now the state of Ohio. The explorers examined and admired portions of the rich valleys of the Muskingum, the Scioto, and the Miamis. "First of white men on record," says Bancroft, "they saw that the land beyond the Scioto, except the first twenty miles, is rich and level, bearing walnut trees of huge size, the maple, the wild cherry, and the ash; full of little streams and rivulets; variegated by beautiful natural prairies, covered with wild rye, blue grass, and white clover. Turkeys abounded, and deer, and elks, and most sorts of game; of buffaloes, thirty or forty were frequently seen feeding in one meadow." The Indian town of

[1] Journal of Colonel George Croghan, who was sent, after the Peace of 1763, by the government to explore the Country adjacent to the Ohio River, and to conciliate the Indian Nations who had hitherto acted with the French. Small 4to, pp. 38. Burlington, N. J.

Piqua, on the Big Miami, had a population of about four hundred families. From Piqua, Gist took his departure, alone, at the beginning of March, 1751, and passed southward through the grassy valleys of the Miamis, in which wild herds grazed; and, reaching the Ohio, followed down that stream to within fifteen miles of the Falls. As the old sea-captain, Othere, is said to have carried with him, from the North Cape, a walrus-tooth, to show King Alfred, in verification of his discovery, so Christopher Gist took with him from Kentucky the tooth of a mammoth, to astonish his Virginia employers with a specimen curiosity of the West.

The name of Gist is immortalized by its intimate association with that of Washington, whose guide and comrade he was on the memorable expedition[1] sent by Governor Dinwiddie to Forts Venango and Le Boeuf, in the year 1753. The journal of Major George Washington, giving in crude but clear English, the official report of his forty-seven days' doings, from the time he set out from Williamsburgh to his return thither, detailing the particulars of his interviews with the French officers in Pennsylvania, is one of the rarest and most interesting bits of Americana. The diary proper contains only twenty pages, ordinary octavo size, but every word tells. Surely this little book, the first fruits of Washington's pen, produced when the hero was but a youth, deserves to be kept as a "kind of biblical article." The Robinson Crusoe-like adventures which it relates, of the Virginia Major and his man Friday, Mr. Gist, ought to render the story a boy-classic. Tied up in their "match coats," with gun in hand and pack on shoulders, the two men tread the dangerous woods; they pass "the murdering-town;" Washington is shot at by an Indian who lay in wait for him; in order to cross the freezing Allegheny, they set about making a raft, "with but one

[1] The Journal of Major George Washington, sent by Hon. Robert Dinwiddie to the Commandant of the French Forces on Ohio. To which are added the Governor's Letter, and a Translation of the French Officer's answer. 8vo. pp. 32. Map. Williamsburgh, printed. London, reprinted 1754.

poor hatchet," and the task requires a whole day's work; they finally launch the raft, but are "jammed in the ice" in a most dangerous manner, and they expect to perish. "I put out my setting Pole to try to stop the Raft, that the Ice might pass by; when the Rapidity of the Stream threw it with so much violence against the Pole, that it jerked me out into ten feet of Water; But I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the Raft Logs."

The incidental visit of Washington to the border of white settlement, on the eve of the great contest of the English with the French and Indians, marks the commencement of mighty changes. Imagination pictures the resolute young American, who was to become the Father of his Country, as, bestriding his Virginia steed, he surveyed the land at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, building a fort, and perhaps a city, in his mind. "I spent some time," he wrote, "in viewing the River, and the Land in the Fork: which I think extremely well situated for a Fort." Might not a sculptor make something striking of that?—Young Washington, on horseback, at the head-waters of the Ohio, looking westward!

On the second of January, 1754, Washington, then at Frazier's settlement on the Monongahela, saw "seventeen horses loaded with materials and stores for a Fort at the Forks of Ohio," and the day after, "some families going out to settle." Those families going west to settle were of the pioneer van. The Saxon foot had begun its tramp into the backwoods.

Boone made his first exploration in Kentucky in 1769; and white settlements were established in Western Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky, before the breaking out of the Revolutionary War. It is estimated that in the year 1784, thirty thousand people moved into Kentucky. In that same year, and as if born of the impulse of the active time, came into existence the first historical sketch of Kentucky.

Seven years before the publication of *Bartram's Travels*, there was issued from the press Filson's "Kentucky," a volume which has now become such a rare curiosity that

I here trascribe the complete title. "The Discovery, Settlement, and Present State of Kentucky; and an Essay towards the Topography and Natural History of that Important Country; by John Filson. To which is added an Appendix containing: I. The Adventures of Col. Daniel Boone, one of the First Settlers, comprehending every important Occurrence in the Political History of that Province. II. The Minutes of the Piankashaw Council, held at Post St. Vincent's, April 15, 1784. III. An Account of the Indian Nations inhabiting within the Limits of the Thirteen United States; their Manners and Customs; and Reflections on their Origin. IV. The Stages and Distances between Philadelphia and the Falls of Ohio; from Pittsburg to Pensacola, and several other Places. The whole illustrated by a new and accurate Map of Kentucky, and the Country adjoining, drawn from actual surveys. Wilmington, printed by John Adams, 1784."

Very few copies of Filson's book and map are in existence, and a single copy of the work has been sold for as much as one hundred and twenty dollars. Next to nothing had been published, or was generally known about Filson, until quite recently, when Colonel R. T. Durrett[1] gathered together the scanty memorials of the romantic pioneer, and gave them to the world in a small volume[2] put forth by the Filson Club, Louisville. From this volume (which contains a weird and shadowy portrait of John Filson) we learn that he was born near the Brandywine, Pennsylvania, about the year 1747, and that he came to Kentucky, probably in 1783, being, then, perhaps, thirty-six years old. He formed the acquaintance of, and col-

[1] Reuben Thomas Durrett, lawyer, editor, and author, born in Henry county, Kentucky, January 22, 1824, founder of the Filson Club, lives in Louisville. He possesses the finest historical library in Kentucky. A correspondent of the New York Tribune describes Colonel Durrett as a "tall, white-bearded, blue-eyed man, with the head of Longfellow and the manners of Sir Roger de Coverly."

[2] John Filson, the First Historian of Kentucky. An Account of His Life and Writings, principally from Original Sources. Prepared for the Filson Club, by Reuben T. Durrett. Louisville and Cincinnati, 1884.

lected information from, Daniel Boone, Levi Todd, James Harrod, Christopher Greenup, John Cowen, William Kennedy, and other pioneers. The adventures of Boone were related by that hero directly to the enterprising schoolmaster, speculator, and verse-maker, Filson, who published them, and who is therefore not only the first historian of Kentucky, but the original biographer of the typical backswoodsman of literature. The narrative of Filson furnished the basis of Bryan's "Mountain Muse," one of the early attempts to put Western scenery and pioneer romance into verse. Having prepared his manuscript and map, the author returned to the East and had them published. The next year he turned his face westward, and proceeded from his home to Pittsburg in a Jersey wagon, and thence in a flat-boat down the Ohio, to the mouth of Beargrass Creek, where Louisville now is. The entire journey consumed two months, from April 25, to June 27, 1785.

In the summer of the same year, Filson went in a canoe to Vincennes, on the Wabash, and walked back through the woods to Beargrass. This journey of four hundred and fifty miles he repeated in the autumn, the object of both excursions being to collect materials for a history of the Illinois country. On the first day of June, 1786, he set out from Vincennes for the Falls of the Ohio in a "perogue," accompanied by three men. The party was attacked by Indians, and compelled to land and take to the woods for safety. Filson, after many perils and sufferings, found his way back to Vincennes, exhausted by famine and sore with wounds. After this adventure, he returned safe to Kentucky, and again traveled over the long road to Philadelphia on horseback. In 1787 he once more appeared in the land of Boone, and advertised proposals in the *Kentucky Gazette* to start a classical academy in Lexington, the sylvan "Athens of the West." The project seems not to have been realized; but Filson was fertile in expedients, and soon he engaged in the important enterprise which fixed his name in history. In August, 1788, he went into partnership with Mathias Denman and Robert Patterson

in the purchase of a tract of land on the north side of the Ohio River, opposite the mouth of the Licking, on which it was proposed to lay out the town of Losantiville, now Cincinnati. Filson invented the name Losantiville, which has been much ridiculed, but it is doubtful whether the word Cincinnati, which is either a genitive singular or a nominative plural, is not as absurd as the euphonious name compounded by the Lexington schoolmaster. Filson, who was a surveyor, marked out a road from Lexington to the mouth of the Licking, and, with his partners, arrived at the site of their town in September, and began to lay out streets, at least on paper. One of these was to be called Filson Avenue, but the name was changed to Plum street after Filson's tragic disappearance from the stage of affairs. The circumstances of his exit are shrouded in mystery. The supposition is that he fell a victim to the tomahawk and scalping-knife of some prowling savage. All that we know is he set out alone to explore the solitudes of the Big Miami woods, and was seen no more by his white comrades. Nor was any trace of his body ever found.

I pass from the story of Filson to that of another traveler and writer who, in some sense, took up the historical and romantic *role* which Filson had ceased to play. Gilbert Imlay, a Captain in the American army, and commissioner for laying out lands in the back settlements, published, in the year 1792, a remarkably complete and entertaining book[1] on Kentucky and the West. It was written in the form of a series of letters, and first appeared from a London press. This Captain Imlay was the man whose scandalous relation with Mary Wollstonecroft and cruel abandonment of her once made a considerable excitement in the world. He met Miss Wollstonecroft in France some time in 1792, and the two formed a free-love alliance which Imlay broke, thereby causing the lady to attempt suicide. She afterward became the wife of

[1] A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America, Containing an Account of its Climate, Population, Manners, and Customs, etc. By Captain Gilbert Imlay. London, 1792.

William Godwin, by whom she had a daughter who married the poet Shelley. Imlay was the author of a novel entitled "The Emigrants," which appeared in three volumes, in 1793.

To the second edition of Imlay's "America," 1793, was appended John Filson's "Kentucky." The work was furnished with several useful maps. A third edition, much enlarged, was published in 1797. This contains: "Observations on the Ancient Works," by Jonathan Heart; "Description of Louisiana and West Florida," by Thomas Hutchins; Patrick Kennedy's "Journal up the Illinois River," "Description of the State of Tenasee, 1796," etc. Several of the chapters deal in general historical facts collected from other books. The writer dwells with prolix comment, on the American theory and form of government, and on systems of polity, religion, and society, evidently regarding himself as an authority in statesmanship and philosophy. His social views are extremely radical, and he indulges in divers rhapsodical flights on liberty, equality, fraternity, and millennial perfection.

The interest of Imlay's book to readers of the present day consists in his descriptions of Kentucky, its products and people, as he saw them a hundred years ago. It is pleasant, for instance, to read what he wrote of the canebrakes that once covered many parts of the Ohio Valley, and which were of value as fodder. "The cane," he says, "is a reed that grows to the height frequently of ten or twelve feet, and it is in thickness from the size of a goose-quill to that of two inches in diameter. When it is slender, it never grows higher than from four to seven feet; it shoots up in one summer, but produces no leaves until the following year. It is an evergreen, and is, perhaps, the most nourishing food for cattle upon earth. No other milk or butter has such flavor and richness as that which is produced from cows which feed upon cane. Horses which feed upon it work nearly as well as if they were fed upon corn."

The Captain's style is often picturesque and vivid,

but some of his delineations of primitive customs in Kentucky are probably touched with the hues of fancy. The following idylic paragraphs might have been written of Arcadia:

"The season of sugar making occupies the women whose mornings are cheered by the modulated buffoonery of the mocking-bird, the tuneful song of the thrush, and the gaudy plumage of the paroquet. Festive mirth crowns the evening. The business of the day being over, the men join the women in the sugar groves where enchantment seems to dwell. The lofty trees wave their spreading branches over a green turf, on whose soft down the mildness of the evening invites the neighboring youth to sportive play; while our rural Nestors, with calculating minds, contemplate the boyish gambols of a growing progeny; they recount the exploits of their early age, and, in their enthusiasm, forget there are such things as decrepitude and misery. Perhaps a convivial song or a pleasant narrative closes the scene.

"Rational pleasures meliorate the soul; and it is by familiarizing man with uncontaminated felicity that sordid avarice and vicious habits are to be destroyed.

"Gardening and fishing constitute some part of the amusements of both sexes. Flowers and their genera form one of the studies of our ladies; and the embellishment of their houses with those which are known to be salutary constitute a part of their employment. Domestic cares and music fill up the remainder of the day, and social visits, without ceremony or form, leave them without ennui or disgust. Our young men are too gallant to permit the women to have separate amusements; and thus it is that we find that suavity and politeness of manners universal, which can only be effected by female polish.

"The autumn and winter produce not less pleasure. Evening visits mostly end with dancing by the young people, while the more aged indulge their hilarity, or disseminate information in the disquisition of politics, or some useful art or science.

"Such are the amusements of this country, which have for their basis hospitality, and all the variety of good things which a luxuriant soil is capable of producing without the alloy of that distress of misery which is produced from penury or want. Malt liquor, and spirits distilled from corn and the juice of the sugar tree, mixed with water, constitute the ordinary beverage of the country. Wine is too dear to be drank prodigally; but that is a fortunate circumstance, as it will be an additional spur to us to cultivate the vine."

Enough and perhaps too much of Captain Imlay's rosy rhetoric. Let us turn from the perusal of his pages to the less florid volumes of his cotemporary, Henry Toulmin[1] (born, 1767; died, 1823); another historiographer of Kentucky. He was an Englishman, a disciple and follower of Joseph Priestly. Migrating to Kentucky, he took a leading part in the public affairs of the young state. For a time Toulmin was president of Transylvania University, at Lexington; and he afterward became Secretary of State. A collection of the acts of the Kentucky Legislature, by him, was published at Frankfort in 1802. His "Description of Kentucky," and "Thoughts on Emigration," both published in London, in 1792, were valuable in their day in spreading knowledge of the West, and inducing immigration.

In the years 1795–6–7, Isaac Weld, Junior, a young Irishman, of Dublin, made a journey through the United States and Canada, an account of which, as a collection of letters, was published in 1797. This volume,[2] though written in a captious spirit, gives the reader a very definite if not very flattering running description of American life in the later days of Washington. The author's bitter and contemptuous comments on what he

[1] A Description of Kentucky in North America, to which are prefixed Miscellaneous Observations respecting the United States. Map. 8vo. Printed in November, 1792.

[2] Travels through the States of North America, and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, in 1795–97. By Isaac Weld. Maps and plates. 4to, pp. 464. London, 1799.

considered the rudeness and vulgarity of the lower orders of society were much resented by the newspapers of the period. In the last sentence of his pettishly scornful book, Weld says: "I shall speedily take my departure from this continent, well pleased at having seen so much of it as I have done; but I shall leave it without a sigh, and without entertaining the slightest wish to revisit it."

The narrative relates chiefly to the Atlantic States and Canada, though it contains lively descriptions of Niagara, Lake Erie and Detroit. The map which accompanies the book, showing the United States as far south as Florida and as far west as the mouth of the Kentucky river, indicates the location of but two towns in Kentucky, Lexington and Lewistown, and only one in the "Western Territory," namely, Marietta. The point farthest west which Mr. Weld reached in his Virginia explorations was the town of Fincastle. Speaking of the "great road, running north and south behind the Blue mountains, and which is the high road from the Northern States to Kentucky," the traveler gives the following bit of personal observation and experience: "As I passed along this road, I met with great numbers of people from Kentucky and the new State of Tennessee, going toward Philadelphia and Baltimore, and with many others going in the contrary direction, 'to explore,' as they call it, that is, to search for lands conveniently situated for new settlements in the western country. These people all travel on horseback, with pistols or swords, and a large blanket folded up under their saddle, which last they use for sleeping in when obliged to pass the night in the woods. There is but little occasion for arms now that peace has been made with the Indians; but formerly it used to be a very serious undertaking to go by this route to Kentucky, and travelers were always obliged to go forty or fifty in a party, and well prepared for defense. It would be still dangerous for any person to venture singly; but if five or six travel together they are perfectly secure. There are houses now scattered along nearly the whole way from Fincastle to Lexington in Kentucky, so that it is not necessary to

sleep more than two or three nights in the woods in going there. Of all the uncouth human beings I met with in America, these people from the western country were the most so; their curiosity was boundless. Frequently have I been stopped abruptly by some of them in a solitary part of the road, and in such a manner that, had it been in another country, I should have imagined that it was a highwayman that was going to demand my purse, and without any further preface, asked where I came from? if I was acquainted with any news? where bound to? and finally, my name? 'Stop, mister! Why I guess now you be coming from the new state?' 'No, sir.' 'Why then I guess as how you be coming from Kentuc.' 'No, sir.' 'Oh! Why then, now, where might you be coming from?' 'From the low country.' 'Why you must have heard all the news then; now, mister, what might the price of bacon be in those parts?' 'Upon my word, my friend, I can't inform you.' 'Aye, aye; I see, mister, you be'n't one of us; now, mister, what might your name be?' A stranger going the same way is sure of having the company of these worthy people, so desirous of information, as far as the next tavern, where he is seldom suffered to remain for five minutes, till he is again assailed by a fresh set of the same questions."

Another entertaining book of travel is the Journal of Francis Baily,[1] who made a tour down the Ohio and Mississippi in 1796–7.

The celebrated naturalist, F. A. Michaux, who, clad in a suit made of the skins of wild animals, traversed the Mississippi Valley, collecting materials for his "History of American Oaks," also published a book[2] of travels. The descriptions which he gave of the West, and of his expe-

[1] Journal of a Tour in Unsettled Parts of North America in 1796–7. (Down the Ohio and Mississippi, and back to Knoxville, Tennessee.) By Francis Baily. 8vo, pp. 439. London, 1856.

[2] Travels to the Westward of the Allegheny Mountains in the States of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and return to Charleston through the Upper Carolinas. London, 1804.

riences of log-cabin life and woodland adventure, are well worth reading.

Not less entertaining and more general in its scope was a book of travels by the French savant, C. F. Volney (1757–1820), a translation[1] of which appeared in 1804, and was very generally circulated. It is chiefly geographical.

There was published in 1808, a book[2] that created a sensation in the Ohio Valley, and particularly in Cincinnati. This was a pretentious but blundering narrative by Thomas Ashe, compiled from the "Navigator" and other books, with original statements based on insufficient observation, and not a few downright inventions of the author's fancy. For example, the Big Miami river is represented as flowing out of Lake Erie. Ashe went under the assumed name of D'Arville, and introduced himself by forged letters to leading citizens of the West. We are told by an early western writer that this imposter "beguiled the late learned, ingenious, and excellent Dr. Goforth of his immense collection of mammoth bones, and made a fortune of them, and of his book, in London." E. D. Mansfield brands Ashe as the "first to discover that a book abusing the people of the United States would be profitable by its popularity." Daniel Drake, whose preceptor was the deluded Goforth, mentions Ashe, *alias* D'Arville, as that "swindling Englishman;" but the favorite appellation by which indignant Cincinnatians advertised the offending bone-stealer was "the infamous Ashe." The London Quarterly Review said of Ashe and

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[1] View of the Climate and Soil of the United States of America, with Remarks on Florida. By C. F. Volney. London, 1804.

Volney was known to many readers from his celebrated book "The Ruins," which was published in 1791.

[2] Travels in America performed in 1806, for the purpose of exploring the Rivers Allegheny, Monongahela, Ohio and Mississippi, and ascertaining the Produce and Condition of their Banks and Vicinity. By Thomas Ashe. 3 vols., 18mo. London, 1808.

Also, Memoirs of Mammoth and various other Extraordinary and Stupendous Bones found in the Vicinity of the Ohio, Wabash, Illinois, Mississippi and other Rivers. By Thomas Ashe. Plate. 8vo. Liverpool, 1806.

his "Travels:" "He has spoiled a good book by engrafting incredible stories on authentic facts."

H. M. Brackenridge's Recollections[1] of a journey from Pittsburg to St. Genevieve in 1792; Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris's account[2] of his tour from Boston to Marietta in 1803; Christian Schultz's diary,[3] detailing the particulars of a journey from New York city to the West and South in the years 1807–8; and, above all, Timothy Flint's story[4] of his travels in the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi, begun in 1815, hold the reader's attention, with all the excitement of romance, and more than the interest of any fiction.[5]

An exceedingly delightful book of its class is Bradbury's "Travels in the Interior of America,"[6] a racy, offhand, and manifestly true report of the author's personal observation of nature and man in the wilder parts of the Mississippi Valley, in the years 1809, '10, '11. John Bradbury, an English botanist, came to the United States in 1809, and having consulted Thomas Jefferson concerning the best field for his scientific labors, decided to make St. Louis his head-quarters. He ascended the Missouri, made

[1] Recollections of Persons and Places in the West. By H. M. Brackenridge. 12mo, pp. 331. Philadelphia, 1868.

[2] The Journal of a Tour into the Territory northwest of the Alleghany Mountains, with a Geographical and Historical Account of the State of Ohio. By Thaddeus Mason Harris. With five maps. 8vo, pp. 271. Boston, 1805.

[3] Travels on an Inland Voyage through New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, etc., in 1807–8. By Christian Schultz. Portrait, maps, and plates. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 207–224. New York, 1810.

[4] Recollections of the last Ten Years, passed in occasional Residences and Journeyings in the Valley of the Mississippi, from Pittsburg and the Missouri to the Gulf of Mexico. By Timothy Flint. 8vo, pp. 395. Boston, 1826.

[5] For a synopsis of these entertaining books, see Venable's Footprints of the Pioneers in the Ohio Valley.

[6] Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809–10–11, including a Description of Upper Louisiana, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Tennessee, with the Illinois and Western Territories. By John Bradbury. 8vo. Liverpool, 1817.

collections of plants and minerals, studied the habits and language of the Indians, and prepared an excellent general description of the Ohio Valley. His book is entirely original, a transcript of daily doings and seeings, written in simple but pictorial style, with that golden medium of skill in detailing particulars which gratifies but never cloys the reader. The diary pleasantly talks of natural scenery; of plants, birds, beasts; of Indians, Spaniards, French and English men. Now we have a lively description of a bear hunt, then of a bee tree; now an account of a buffalo herd, then of a rattlesnake den. We are told how beaver meat tastes, and how to make bread of corn meal and pounded persimmons. We see the Indians dance and hear them sing; we enter the smoky wigwams, and sympathize with Mr. Bradbury in his embarassed attempts to escape the tender advances of squalid squaws.

One reads with curious interest that, on the morning of January 17, 1810, while proceeding up the Missouri river in a boat, Bradbury saw, standing on the shore, near the French village of Charette, an old man, "Daniel Boone, the discoverer of Kentucky." "As I had a letter of introduction to him, from his nephew Colonel Grant, I went ashore to speak to him, and requested that the boat might go on, as I intended to walk until evening. I remained some time in conversation with him. He informed me that he was eighty-four years of age; that he had spent a considerable portion of his time alone in the back woods, and had lately returned from his spring hunt, with nearly sixty beaver skins."

The several volumes of exploration, travel, or history, by Lewis and Clarke,[3] Cuming,[1] Pike, Stoddard,[2] Hard-

[1] Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country, through the States of Ohio and Kentucky; a Voyage down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, and a Trip though the Mississippi Territory and Part of West Florida. By F. Cuming. 16mo, pp. 504. Pittsburg, 1810.

[2] Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana. By Amos Stoddard. 8vo, pp. 488. Philadelphia, 1812.

[3] The results of the expedition of Captains Merriwether Lewis and William Clarke were communicated to Congress by a message from the President, and printed by the government in an octavo volume of 178

ing,[1] Dana,[2] Long,[3] and others, published within the first quarter of the Nineteenth century, though not all treating of the Ohio Valley, furnished much information bearing upon common interest, and were widely read in Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Their influence helped to form the opinions and motives of the people of the Central West.

In the year 1818, Morris Birkbeck, an English speculator who founded the settlement of Albion, in Southern Illinois, published in London two little books, "Letters from Illinois," and "Notes on a Journey in America." These very agreeable volumes were, in purpose, similar to the writings Toulmin had produced in Kentucky, thirty years before. They were designed to encourage migration from Great Britain to Illinois.

Thomas Nuttall, an American naturalist, who spent ten or twelve years traveling in various parts of the United States, for scientific purposes, made an extensive journey into Arkansas, in 1818–19. A journal[4] of his travels was published in 1821. The second and third chapters of this book, giving minute particulars of the author's descent

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pages, in 1806. The best account of this important expedition, however, was prepared for the press by Paul Allen, and published in Philadelphia in 1814, in two volumes, 8vo, under the title of "History of the Expedition, under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clarke, to the Sources of the Missouri, thence Across the Rocky Mountains, and down the River Columbia to the Pacific Ocean, performed during the Years 1804–5–6."

[1] A Tour through the Western Country, A. D. 1818 and 1819. By Benjamin Harding. 8vo, pp. 17. New London, 1819.

[2] Geographical Sketches on the Western Country; designed for Emigrants and Settlers, being the Result of Extensive Researches and Remarks. Including a particular Description of the unsold Public Lands, etc. By E. Dana. 16mo, pp. 312. Cincinnati, 1819.

[3] Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains in 1819–20. Compiled from the Notes of Major Stephen H. Long and others, by Edwin James. Colored Illustrations. 3 vols. 8vo. London, 1823.

[4] A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory during the Year 1819. With occasional Observations on the Manners of the Aborigines. By Thomas Nuttall. Map and engravings. 8vo, pp. 296. Philadelphia, 1821.

of the Ohio river, from Pittsburg to the Mississippi, bear the stamp of photographic fidelity. They are written in a style somewhat dry and crabbed, but never dull. The naturalist, accompanied by a young man, left Pittsburg, October 21, 1818, in a skiff which he purchased for six dollars. On the night of the 22d the voyagers landed about two miles below Beavertown, and went to a tavern to obtain rest and shelter for the night which was cold. "Finding the tavern crowded with people met together for merriment," says the journal, "we retired to a neighboring hovel. Our prospect of repose was soon, however, banished, as our cabin, being larger than the tavern, was selected for a dancing room, and here we were obliged to sit as waking spectators of this riot till after one o'clock in the morning. The whisky bottle was brought out to keep up the excitement, and, without the inconvenience and delay of using glasses, was passed pretty briskly from mouth to mouth, exempting neither age nor sex. Some of the young *ladies* also indulged in smoking as well as drinking drams." According to Nuttall, pretty nearly every body along the banks of the river, white, black, or red, was devoted to the spirit of corn. That distilled on the Monongahela had the preference.

On the evening of November 7th, the travelers landed on the Kentucky shore just below the mouth of the Big Sandy. "We took up our lodgings where there happened to be a corn husking, and were kept awake with idle merriment and riot till past midnight. Some of the party, or rather of the two national parties, got up and harangued to a judge, like so many lawyers, on some political argument, and other topics, in a boisterous and illiberal style, but without coming to blows. Is this a relic of Indian customs?"

Arriving at Cincinnati, Nuttall went to see his friend Dr. Drake, whom he describes as "one of the most scientific men west of the Alleghany mountains." Descending the river to the neighborhood of the Swiss towns of Vevay and Ghent, the traveler lodged with a polite and hospitable Frenchman, with whom he drank some sour native

wine, costing only twenty-five cents a bottle. The record in the diary for November 23d, reads: "At length I arrived at the large and flourishing town of Louisville, but recently a wilderness."

Nuttall was detained at Louisville until December 7th, and his stay there gave opportunity to observe the stir and bustle of migrating people seeking fortune in a new country. Our traveler reports his impressions in this language: "A stranger who descends the Ohio at this season of emigration, can not but be struck with the jarring vortex of heterogeneous population amidst which he is embarked, all searching for some better country, which lies to the west as Eden did to the east."

Having purchased a flat-boat at Shippingport, Nuttall, accompanied by an "elderly gentleman and his son," embarked, and was carried by the current alone at the rate of eighty miles a day. They see few inhabitants alongshore—only an occasional "hunting farmer," seeking wild turkeys in the woods or canebrakes. They pass a small town called Evansville, pass Diamond Island and the mouth of the Wabash, and, on the fourteenth, behold Shawneetown, Illinois, "a handful of log cabins." They float by Battery Rock, Rock in the Cave, and other bold cliffs, and drift into regions untouched by civilization. "The occidental wilderness appears here to retain its primeval solitude; its gloomy forests are yet unbroken by the hand of man, they are only penetrated by the wandering hunter and the roaming savage." The river, below Massac, was infested by professional wreckers—little better than robbers—a band of whom fleeced the unwary travelers at "Wolf's Island." Finally the flat-boat reached the Mississippi, and the voyage was continued without serious accident down to Arkansas. Borne along on the great bosom of the waters, the meditative naturalist gazed out upon the lovely panorama of nature. The result of his reflections is summed in the words of his journal: "How many ages may yet elapse before these luxuriant wilds of the Mississippi can enumerate a population equal to the Tartarian deserts! At present all is irksome silence

and gloom of solitude, such as to inspire the mind with horror." Yet this was written in 1819—not three-quarters of a century ago!

It was but a few years after Nuttall made his journey to Arkansas that H. R. Schoolcraft set out on his travels[1] in the central portions of the Mississippi Valley. The book which records his adventures is dedicated to Lewis Cass, governor of the Territory of Michigan, under whose patronage, by the sanction of the general government, the author's explorations were undertaken. Indeed, Governor Cass accompanied Schoolcraft on some of his journeys. The tour was begun July 3, 1821, when the travelers started from Detroit. The route chosen was up to the head-waters of the Maumee, thence across to the sources of the Wabash, and down that river to its mouth, thence across Illinois to St. Louis, and up the Mississippi to Fox river, and overland to Chicago.

Schoolcraft says, writing in 1821: "The whole district of country between Fort Defiance and Fort Wayne is yet in a state of nature. The only shelter to be obtained in passing through it, is Brush's cabin; a small log tenement put up during the present season as a kind of half-way house." At Fort Wayne he visited the Indian school, conducted on the "Lancastrian system." The number of pupils was forty-eight, most of them Pottowatamies.

On the portage between the Maumee and the Wabash, Schoolcraft and his excellency Governor Cass spent a night at an Indian village, making an effort to sleep in a wigwam, the lodge of a chief. But the Indians of the village were engaged in a drunken carousal, and made night hideous with wild noise. "As is usual when their liquor is exhausted," writes the traveler, "they fell to quarreling and fighting, and we momentarily expected that some murder would be perpetrated. At this critical period, we were pleased to observe an aged squaw, care-

[1] Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley; comprising observations on its Mineral Geography, Internal Resources, and Aboriginal Population. By H. R. Schoolcraft. Map and plate. 8vo, pp. 459. New York, 1825.

fully gather up all the knives about the lodge, two of which were drawn from crevices in the logs near our heads; and she effectually concealed them."

The Indians along the Wabash practiced a peculiar mode of decoying deer, by night, called "Fire-hunting." The hunter fixes a torch in the bow of his canoe, and floating slowly down stream, watches his opportunity to shoot the deer that seek the river banks, and are dazzled by the flame. "The light which they employ is prepared from the wax separated from the wild honey. This wax is poured in the hollow stem of the cane, through which a strip of cotton cloth has been drawn, to serve the purpose of a wick."

In the vicinity of Terre Haute, flocks of showy green parroquets were common, and three red deer were seen swimming the Wabash.

The travelers spent several days at Vincennes, where they were entertained by J. C. S. Harrison, Esq., and where they met "with several gentlemen who had borne a conspicuous part in the civil and military transactions of the country." Among these was General Zachary Taylor.

Passing the little town of Albion, at the mouth of the Bonpas, the voyagers made inquiry concerning the place. It was the English settlement founded by Morris Birkbeck. The population in 1821 was two hundred. Schoolcraft says: "The town contains an hotel, where the inhabitants resort to drink beer in the English style; and a library of standard books, accessible to all, and much attention is paid to the improvement of the mind as well as the soil."

Schoolcraft gives a lengthy account of Harmony, Frederick Rappe's "fraternal" settlement, founded on the Wabash, in 1814.

The list of books of travel, throwing light on the condition of the Ohio Valley and its people in the first half of the Nineteenth century, might be extended indefinitely. Our reference to this class of writings may close with the

mention of Bullock's "Sketch,"[1] a volume of much local interest to the citizens of the metropolis of Ohio.

The books mentioned in the foregoing pages, and numerous other sketches, journals, letters, and notes, furnished material from which local historians constructed state histories and gazetteers or compiled more general and comprehensive manuals. The student of Ohio Valley annals may be assisted in his researches by having his attention called to some of the more important historical writings produced by early writers in the several states, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

John Filson's "Kentucky," already described on a preceding page, leads the catalogue of Ohio Valley historical compositions. This *omnium gatherum*, however, can hardly be ranked as a formal history.

One of the first to undertake the preparation of a regular history[2] of Kentucky was Humphrey Marshall,[3] a distinguished Southern politician and orator, related to Chief-Justice John Marshall. He was born in Virginia, but came to Kentucky in 1780. He was elected to the United States Senate over John Breckenridge for the term of 1795–1801. He once fought a duel with Henry Clay. Marshall died in 1842, at the advanced age of eighty-two. His history has a force and piquancy that make it readable to-day, and the bias in favor of Fed-

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[1] Sketch of a Journey through the Western States of North America, from New Orleans to New York, in 1827. By W. Bullock. With a Description of the New and Flourishing City of Cincinnati, by Messrs. B. Drake and E. D. Mansfield. 12mo. London, 1827.

[2] The History of Kentucky. Including an Account of the Discovery, Settlement, and Present State of the Country. By Humphrey Marshall. Vol. 1. Frankfort, 1812. This is the first edition, the second volume of which was never published; the complete edition, which embraced the above, revised and rewritten, was not published until twelve years later, under the following title: The History of Kentucky. An Account of the Modern Discovery, Settlement, Progressive Improvement, Civil and Military Transactions, and the Present State of the Country. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 473–524. Frankfort, 1824.

[3] A Life of Marshall, by A. C. Quisenberry, is announced for publication by the Filson Club.

eralism adds a relish to its pages like that which one discovers in Hildreth's "United States."

Another historian of comparatively early time in Kentucky was Mann Butler, a pioneer who deserves to be remembered for his virtues and services. Butler was born in Baltimore in 1784; visited England in boyhood; graduated at St. Mary's College, D. C.; came west in 1806, and began the practice of law at Lexington; taught school at Marysville, Versailles, and Frankfort; served some years as professor in Transylvania University; located at Louisville, where he was a prominent educator and writer from 1831 to 1845; removed to St. Louis, where he resided from 1845 to the year of his death, 1852. He was the father of the educator, Noble Butler.

Butler's history[1] is agreeably written, and is specially interesting on account of its descriptions of life in the backwoods.

The History of Kentucky, by Judge Lewis Collins,[2] first issued in 1847 (revised and enlarged fourfold, and brought down to 1874 by Dr. Richard Collins), gathers up all the fragments of Kentucky history, new and old, and is a standard reference book.

John Haywood's histories of Tennessee,[3] dating from

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[1] A History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, from its Exploration and Settlement by the Whites to the Close of the Northwestern Campaign in 1813. By Mann Butler. 12mo, pp. 396. Louisville, 1834.

[2] Historical Sketches of Kentucky, embracing its History, Antiquities, and Natural Curiosities, Geographical, Statistical, and Geological Descriptions. With Anecdotes of Pioneer Life, Biographical Sketches, etc. By Lewis Collins. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 560. Maysville, 1848.

Another edition. Revised, enlarged fourfold, and brought down to the Year 1874, by his son, Richard H. Collins, embracing: Pre-historic Annals for 331 Years, by Counties, Sketches of Courts, Churches, Freemasonry, etc., Pioneer Incidents, and nearly 500 Biographical Sketches of Distinguished Citizens. Map, portrait, etc. 2 vols. 8vo. Covington, 1874.

[3] The Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee, up to the First Settlement therein by the White People, in the Year 1768. By John Haywood. 8vo, pp. 375+liv. Nashville, 1823.

The Civil and Political History of the State of Tennessee from its

1823, have grown so valuable as to command fabulous prices.

Turning our attention to the historical literature of the states north of the Ohio river, we find among the names of early annalists, that of Nahum Ward, who, as early as 1822, published a "Brief Sketch of the State of Ohio,"[1] a pamphlet of only sixteen pages, and not of much intrinsic value, but so rare that a copy has sold for $34.

The "Preliminary Sketch of the History of Ohio," contained in the "Statutes of Ohio and of the Northwestern Territory," edited by Salmon P. Chase,[2] and published in 1833, is justly regarded as a standard of reference that can be relied upon, and it is, in fact, the first systematic presentation of the history of the Buckeye State. The volume in which it originally appeared was entirely of Western manufacture, the paper having been made at Zanesville, and the printing and binding, done in Cincinnati. Before Chase's Sketch was issued, Mr. John H. James, of Urbana, had begun to print, in Hall's Western Magazine, his chapters on the history of Ohio. Caleb Atwater's[3] history of Ohio, a book that has suffered more adverse criticism, and enjoyed less praise than it deserves, came out in 1838.

Earliest Settlement up to the Year 1796. Including the Boundaries of the State. By John Haywood. 8vo, pp. 504. Knoxville, 1823.

New editions of these two works have just been issued by Judge Haywood's great-grandson, W. H. Haywood. The latter contains a biographical sketch of the author, by Colonel A. S. Colyar.

[1] A Brief Sketch of the State of Ohio, one of the United States in North America. With a Map delineating the same into Counties. Giving the Opinion of Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., Geographer of the United States, and British Travelers in 1787, when that State was uninhabited by Civilized Man. Likewise exhibiting a View of the Unparalleled Progress of that State since 1789 to the Present Day, it being now the Fourth State in the Union in Point of Population and Representation in Congress. By a Resident of Twelve Years at Marietta in that State. Map. 8vo, pp. 16. Glasgow, 1822.

[2] A Preliminary Sketch of the History of Ohio. By Salmon P. Chase. 8vo, pp. 39. Cincinnati, 1833.

[3] History of the State of Ohio. Natural and Civil. By Caleb Atwater. 8vo, pp. 497. Cincinnati, 1838.

Jacob Burnet's "Notes,"[1] a most useful contribution to pioneer history, and personally interesting to the descendants of the early settlers of Ohio, from the fact that the author was himself a pioneer, and describes the Miami country as he saw it in 1796, was not published until 1847. In the same year Henry Howe[2] gave the public his wonderful "Collections," the best and most readable state history that has yet been published, a work entirely original and unique. Howe's "Historical Collections of Ohio" is correctly described as a "treasure-house of local and general information, of history, of legend and story, of geography and antiquities, of every thing indeed pertaining to Ohio and Ohio's history." The author traveled over the state in the years 1846–7, collecting his material; and again in 1886–7, he made a tour over the same ground, gathering fresh matter for a revised centennial edition of his great work, which has just appeared, in two large volumes.

No enumeration of comparatively early works on Ohio is complete that does not name Dr. Samuel Prescott Hildreth's "Pioneer History of the Ohio Valley,"[3] and its companion volume, "Biographical and Historical Memoirs of the Pioneers."[4]

Most prominent of the early historians of Indiana was John B. Dillon, whose career falls in quite recent years, and whose first important book came out in 1843. This

[1] Notes on the Early Settlement of the Northwestern Territory. By Jacob Burnet. 8vo, pp. 501. Cincinnati, 1847.

[2] Historical Collections of Ohio. Containing a Collection of the most Interesting Facts, Traditions, Biographical Sketches, Anecdotes, etc., relating to the General and Local History, with Descriptions of its Counties, Cities, Towns, Villages, etc. By Henry Howe. 8vo, pp. 589. Cincinnati, 1847.

[3] Pioneer History. Being an Account of the First Examinations of the Ohio Valley, and the Early Settlement of the Northwest Territory. Chiefly from Original Manuscripts, containing the Papers of Colonel George Morgan, Judge Barker, Records of the Ohio Company, etc. By S. P. Hildreth. Plates and map. 8vo, pp. 525. Cincinnati, 1848.

[4] Biographical and Historical Memoirs of the Early Pioneer Settlers of Ohio. With Narrative of Incidents and Occurrences in 1775. By S. P. Hildreth. Portraits. 8vo, pp. 539. Cincinnati, 1852.

was the initial volume of a projected elaborate work which was never completed. The author, however, published, in 1859, a "History of Indiana from its Earliest Explorations to the Close of the Territorial Government in 1815."[1] Dillon wrote other historical books. He was a most amiable gentleman and a useful citizen. For many years he was State Librarian of Indiana. He died in 1879.[2]

Judge John Law's address[3] before the Historical Society of Vincennes is a most valuable contribution to the history of the Hoosier State. Nor can any thing be more clear and suggestive, notwithstanding its discursiveness, than Smith's "Reminiscences."[4]

Illinois is quite rich in historial records. Having white settlements in the southern part at a very early date, the Illinois country became the object of much attention from travelers and writers. I have referred to the letters of Morris Birkbeck,[5] which date back as far as 1818. The Rev. John Mason Peck,[6] a distinguished Baptist missionary and educator, wrote "A Guide for Emigrants; Con-

[1] A History of Indiana, from its earliest Explorations by the Europeans to the close of the Territorial Government in 1816, including the Discovery, Settlement, etc., of the Territory north-west of the Ohio River, etc. By John B. Dillon. 8vo, pp. xii, 637. Maps and plates. Indianapolis, 1859.

[2] See Life and Services of John B. Dillon. By General John Coburn and Judge Horace P. Biddle. Published by the Indiana Historical Society, 1886.

[3] The Colonial History of Vincennes, under the French, British, and American Governments, from its First Settlement down to the Territorial Administration of General W. H. Harrison. Being an Address before the Vincennes Historical and Antiquarian Society, with additional notes and illustrations. By John Law. 8vo, pp. 157. Vincennes, 1858.

[4] Reminiscences. Early Indiana Trials and Sketches. Historical, Biographical, Political, etc. Portrait. 8vo, pp. 640. Cincinnati, 1858.

[5] Letters from Illinois. By Morris Birkbeck. 8vo, pp. 112. London, 1818. Notes on a Journey in America, from the Coast of Virginia to the Territory of Illinois. By Morris Birkbeck. 8vo, pp. 163. London, 1818.

[6] Gazetteer of Illinois: Containing a General View of the State; a General View of each County, and a Particular Description of each Town, etc., By J. M. Peck. 16mo, pp. 376. Jacksonville, 1834.

taining Sketches of Illinois, Missouri, and the adjacent Posts," which was published in Boston in 1831; and also a "Gazetteer of Illinois," published in 1834. Henry Brown's[1] "Illinois" came out in 1844.

A book valued for its historical information, and amusing as a literary curiosity, is "The Pioneer History of Illinois,"[2] written by John Reynolds, one of the early Governors of Illinois, an illiterate man of strong common sense. The volume was published at Belleville, Illinois, in 1852, and contains the history of Illinois from 1673 to 1818. The author says naively: "My friends will think it strange that I have written a book, no matter how small and unpretending it may be." He justifies his effort on the score that "many facts stated in the 'Pioneer History,' since the year 1800, came under my own observation, which may be relied on as true." Recounting his personal history, he says: "The first Illinois soil I ever touched was on the bank of the Ohio, where Golconda now stands, in March, 1800. When we were about to start from the Ohio, I asked Mr. Lusk how far it was to the next house on the road, and when he told us the first was Kaskaskia, one hundred and ten miles, I was surprised at the wilderness before us. My father hired a man to assist us in traveling through the wilderness. We were four weeks in performing this dreary and desolate journey."

Governor Reynolds gives the following odd description of the French settlers of Illinois: "The French seldom plowed with horses, but used oxen. It is the custom with the French every-where to yoke oxen by the horns, and not by the neck. Oxen can draw as much by the horns as by the neck, but it looks more savage. Sometimes the

[1] The History of Illinois, from its first Discovery and Settlement to the Present Time. By Henry Brown. Map. 8vo, pp. 492. New York, 1844.

[2] The Pioneer History of Illinois: Containing the Discovery, in 1673, and the History of the Country to the Year 1818, when the State Government was organized. By John Reynolds. 12mo, pp. 348. Belleville, Ill., 1852.

French worked oxen in carts, but mostly use horses. I presume that a wagon was not seen in Illinois for nearly one hundred years after its first settlement. A French cart, as well as a plough, was rather a curiosity. It was constructed without an atom of iron. When the Americans came to the country, they called these carts 'barefooted carts,' because they had no iron on their wheels. . . .

"The French generally, and the females of that nation particularly, caught up the French fashions from New Orleans and Paris, and with a singular avidity adopted them to the full extent of their means and talents. The females generally, and the males a good deal, wore the deer skin mawkawsins. A nicely made mawkawsin for a female in the house is both neat and serviceable. . . . . .

. . . "The ancient and innocent custom was for the young men about the last of the year to disguise themselves in old clothes, as beggars, and go around the village in the several houses where they knew they would be welcome. They enter the houses dancing what they call the *Gionie*, which is a friendly request for them to meet and have a ball to dance away the old year. The people, young and old, meet, each one carrying along some refreshment, and then they do, in good earnest, dance away the old year. About the 6th of January, in each year, which is called *Le jour de Rais*, a party is given, and four beans are baked in a large cake; this cake is distributed among the gentlemen, and each one who receives a bean is proclaimed king. These four kings are to give the next ball. These are called 'King's balls.' These Kings select each one a queen, and make her a suitable present. They arrange all things necessary for the dancing party. In these merry parties no set supper is indulged in. They go there not to eat, but to be and make merry. They have refreshments of cake and coffee served round at proper intervals. Sometimes Bouillon, as the French call it, takes the place of coffee. Toward the close of the party, the old queens select each one a new King, and kisses him to qualify him into office; then each new King chooses his new Queen, and goes

through the ceremony as before. In this manner the King balls are kept up all the carnival."

Another Illinois Governor, Thomas Ford, wrote a history of the state, which was published at Chicago in 1854.[1]

Illinois is deeply indebted to the literary industry and enterprise of Judge James Hall, who resided in the State from 1820 to 1833, and there conducted the "Illinois Magazine," devoting much time and pains to historical subjects. To him, also, the people of the Ohio Valley owe gratitude for general labors in the field of local history, and especially for his delightful volume, "The Romance of Western History."

Supplementing and uniting the special histories, such as we have just glanced at, are many more general compends not easily classified. One of the earliest and most important of these is Flint's "The History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley,"[2] 1833.

Another exceedingly important and useful digest of events, covering the whole ground of Ohio Valley history, is James H. Perkins's "Annals of the West," first issued in 1846; revised in 1850 by Rev. J. M. Peck, and re-revised by James R. Albach in 1852, and again in 1857. From this well-ordered store-house of valuable information, many compilers and historians have borrowed, and many more will borrow.

Dr. Monette's painstaking and exhaustive "History of the Mississippi Valley,"[3] 1846, and Hart's later and briefer

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[1] A History of Illinois, from its Commencement as a State, in 1818, to 1847. Containing a full Account of the Black Hawk War, the Rise, Progress, and Fall of Mormonism, the Alton and Lovejoy Riots, and other important and interesting Events. By Governor Thomas Ford. 12mo, pp. 447. Chicago, 1854.

[2] The History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley; to which is appended a Condensed Physical Geography of the Atlantic United States and the whole American Continent. 2 vols. By Timothy Flint. 8vo. Boston, 1833.

[3] History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi by the great European Powers, Spain, France, Great Britain, etc. By John W. Monette. 2 vols., 8vo. New York, 1846.

work[1] on the same subject, are books that sum up many facts with clear authenticity.

Far more attractive to the average reader than any labored compilation, however accurate, are divers and sundry volumes containing free, off-hand delineations of pioneer life in the days when the Ohio Valley was still described as The Wilderness. These books consist largely of personal narrative, and have all the vividness and force of sketches from life. In many instances the artless directness of an earnest teller of true adventures, has lent the illiterate pen a glowing power that rhetoric despairs to win. Not a few of the heroic participants in border warfare, and the rude experience of log-cabin life, have set down the story of their hardy deeds and stern endurance in autobiography. But more frequently, the record of frontier events was left to hands not familiarly acquainted with the scalping knife or the hunter's trap and gun.

A very succinct and satisfactory general view of the beginning of settlement in the Ohio Valley is that embraced in Patterson's "History of the Backwoods."[2] This contains a remarkable map, engraved at Pittsburg in 1843, and showing "the backwoods in 1764." Patterson's book is based, in part, upon those perennially fascinating old Virginia prose epics of the border, Doddridge's "Notes,"[3] and Withers's "Chronicles."[4] To complete

[1] History of the Mississippi Valley. By A. M. Hart. 12mo, pp. 286. Cincinnati, 1853.

[2] History of the Backwoods; or, The Region of the Ohio. Authentic, from the Earliest Accounts. Embracing many Events, Notices of Prominent Pioneers, Sketches of Early Settlements, etc., not heretofore published. By A. W. Patterson. Map. 12mo, pp. 311. Pittsburg. Printed for the author. 1843.

[3] Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania, from the year 1763 to 1783. Together with a View of the State of Society and Manners of the First Settlers of the Western Country. By Joseph Doddridge. 16mo, pp. 316. Wellsburgh, Va., 1824.

[4] Chronicles of Border Warfare; or, a History of the Settlement by the Whites of Northwestern Virginia, and of the Indian Wars and

our select list of authors identified with the pioneer period of Ohio Valley history, what names more suitable than those of the three Macs, McClung,[1] McDonald,[2] and McBride?[3] Each of these authors has been admired by thousands of readers; and their books should live as long as human nature continues to sympathize with heroism. McClung's Sketches were first published in Maysville in 1832.

Even a cursory perusal of the leading books of travel and history, inadequately sketched in the foregoing pages, reveals to the student a world of suggestive knowledge in regard not only to the material features of the diversified Valley of the Ohio, but still more concerning the inhabitants of the vast region, their origin, character, ideas, achievements and aspirations. In these books, as in a mirror, the first processes in the development of states and social institutions are reflected. We see the people at work, conquering savage nature, and laying the foundations of science, literature and art. Only by considering the circumstances under which they did their mental work, only by estimating fairly their "means, culture and limits," can we judge, impartially, what they

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Massacres in that section of the State; with Reflections, Anecdotes, etc. By Alexander S. Withers. 16mo, pp. 319. Clarksburg, Va., 1831.

A new edition of the "Chronicles," with notes by Dr. Lyman C. Draper, of Wisconsin, is in press.

[1] Sketches of Western Adventures. Containing an Account of the most interesting Incidents connected with the Settlement of the West, from 1755 to 1794, with an Appendix. By John A. McClung. Also, additional Sketches of Adventure, and a biography of the author by Henry Waller, with a portrait and other illustrations. 12mo, pp. 398. Louisville, Ky., 1879.

[2] Biographical Sketches of General Nathaniel Massie, General Duncan McArthur, Captain William Wells and General Simon Kenton, who were Early Settlers in the Western Country. By John McDonald. 16mo, pp. 267. Cincinnati, 1838.

[3] Pioneer Biography; being Sketches of the Lives of some of the Early Settlers of Butler County, Ohio. Containing detailed Accounts of Harmar's, St. Clair's, and Wayne's Campaigns, and many of the Early Conflicts with the Indians in Ohio and Kentucky. By James McBride. 2 vols., 8vo. Cincinnati, 1869–71.

accomplished, and surmise what their successors may do in the future.

It is but a little while, in terms of history, since history began on the shores of the Ohio. Though crowded events so confuse our retrospect that Daniel Boone and George Rogers Clark appear in the deceptive vista of our past like far-off heroes of antiquity; though the French explorers of Louisiana seem, in the fancy of Carlyle, as remote as the Pelasgi, they are all of yesterday—Frenchmen, Boone and all. The aborigines of the Backwoods, the invading European scouts and traders who penetrated the cane-brake and the tangled wild, the hunters and surveyors that tracked and measured the new lands on this side of the "Great Mountains" of Pennsylvania—are painted on the canvas of imagination, dim figures, yet to be vivified and vitalized by the touch of literary art. The dry bones of old journals and chronicles are to rise and move, and be clothed upon with flesh that bleeds and feels. From the catacombs of dusty libraries, shall be resurrected the eventful past, with all its stirring scenes and splendid characters—resurrected or recreated by the potent spell of the coming historian, novelist, and poet of the Ohio Valley.

GENERAL NOTE.

Much valuable service has, of late years, been rendered to students and readers interested in the history of the Ohio Valley, by the enthusiasm and energy of several public spirited individuals, who have labored to collect, edit, or reprint the most important facts and records of a comparatively recent but nevertheless fast fading past. The "Ohio Valley Historical Series," conceived, and, in some of its most interesting numbers, edited, by its publisher, Mr. Robert Clarke, is a rich mine of knowledge of inestimable worth to the historian. The series embraces seven large octavo volumes, uniformly bound. The following are the titles in brief:

1. Bouquet's Expedition against the Ohio Indians, 1764.
2. Walker's Athens County, Ohio, and the first Settlement in State.
3. Clark's Campaign in the Illinois, 1778–79.
4. McBride's Pioneer Biographies. 2 vols.
5. Smith's Captivity with the Indians, 1755–59.
6. Drake's Pioneer Life in Kentucky.
7. Miscellanies: I. Espy's Tour in Ohio, etc., in 1805. II. Williams's

Western Campaigns in the War of 1812-13. III. Taneyhill's Leatherwood God. In one volume.

Another notable series of publications is that prepared by the Filson Club of Louisville, Kentucky, a vigorous historical society, largely promoted by its founder, Mr. R. T. Durrett. The following is a list of its publications:

1. The Life and Times of John Filson, the First Historian of Kentucky. By Reuben T. Durrett.
2. The Wilderness Road, or Routes of Travel by which our Forefathers reached Kentucky. By Thomas Speed.
3. The Pioneer Press of Kentucky. By William H. Perrin.
4. The Life and Times of Judge Caleb Wallace. By William H. Whitsitt.
5. The History of St. Paul's Church, Louisville, Ky. By Reuben T. Durrett.
6. The Political Beginnings of Kentucky. By John Mason Brown.
7. The Life and Times of Hon. Humphrey Marshall. By A. C. Quisenberry.

The publications of the several State Historical Societies of the Ohio Valley are generally known to those interested.

CHAPTER II.

THE PIONEER PRESS AND ITS PRODUCT.

BOOK MAKING—BOOK SELLING.

The first printing done on the western continent was by Spanish priests in Mexico. Stephen Daye brought from England the first press used in our country, and it was set up in 1638. The first printed work of any kind done in what is now the United States was the "Freeman's Oath," impressed on one side of a small sheet of paper, in 1639. The first book printed was the "Bay Psalm Book," dated 1640. Cornelius Vanderbilt paid $1,200 for a copy of this book. In 1670 Sir William Berkley, Governor of Virginia, reported that there were no free schools or printing in the colony, and hoped that God would keep the people from both for "these hundred years." But in fewer than twenty-five years from the time Sir William wrote, Virginia had both a college and a printing-press, at Williamsburg. And ninety-six years later Kentucky had her type and press, a little before Ohio could boast of the same aids to the progress of man.

The first newspaper established west of the Allegheny mountains was the Pittsburg Gazette, which dates its birth-day July 29, 1786. The founder of this pioneer sheet, a journeyman printer named John Scull, was born in Reading, Pennsylvania, in 1765, and he removed to Pittsburg at the age of about twenty-one. It is handed down as a tradition in the coal-and-iron city that Mr. Scull was distinguished in his days of advent as "the handsome young man with the white hat." With him was associated another printer, Joseph Hall. Though a devout Federalist, the liberal editor opened the columns of his newspaper to welcome contributions from the distinguished Republican leader, Judge H. H. Brackenridge.

One of the first books printed west of the mountains was the third volume of Brackenridge's "Modern Chivalry," issued in 1793 from the Gazette press. The first and the second volume of the celebrated novel were published in Philadelphia. The Pittsburg Gazette survives, and is one of the leading newspapers of Pennsylvania.

The first printing press in Kentucky was set up in Lexington, by John Bradford, in August, 1787. Bradford, a Virginian, born in 1749—a soldier of the Revolution, migrated to Kentucky in 1785. His father was a printer, his sons were printers, and he was the first public printer of Kentucky, holding that office from 1792 to 1798. He wrote and published "Notes on the Early History of Kentucky;" he was honored by his familiar cotemporaries with the rank and title of "Old Wisdom;" and he is known to have played cards, and surmised to have sipped grog, with Henry Clay, as an agreeable relaxation from business.

In July, 1786, Lexington granted the use of a lot to John Bradford, on condition that he establish a printing-press. Accordingly he sent to Philadelphia for a printer's outfit—press, type, ink-balls, and ink. These novelties came, slowly climbing over the mountains in a wagon, and floating in an "ark," from Pittsburg to Limestone, now Maysville. Most of the type for the first number of the Kentucky Gazette was set up at Limestone, and fell into "pi" in transportation to Lexington by pack-horse. The matter was reset, and the first impression, upon Philadelphia paper in leaves about as large as a half-sheet of ordinary foolscap, appeared, August 11, 1787. The office of publication was a rude log-cabin, of which a picture is given in "Perrin's Pioneer Press of Kentucky," one of the publications of the "Filson Club." The editor's inventive skill enabled him to add to his scanty fonts some larger types and rude engravings cut by his own hand from dog-wood, the American box. The initial copies of the Kentucky Gazette were carried hither and thither in the wilderness by post-riders and distributed to be perused eagerly in cabins or read aloud to curious assemblies, from that backwoods forum, a stump.

Here, emphatically, we have civilization invading the savage hold of nature—we see the wilderness of privation and illiteracy blossoming into the rose of knowledge and thought.

The Gazette was, in the main, political and reportorial of the old news of the Atlantic States. Not much local matter appeared in its columns. Yet the advertisements reflect, with wonderful vividness, the primitive conditions of life in Kentucky, over a hundred years ago. Cattle, whisky, and pelts were legal tender in those days. Prominent among articles for sale this pioneer voice of the press advertises tomahawks, rifles, gun-flints, blankets, buckskin for breeches, saddle-bags, and saddle-bag locks. Besides these which so forcibly suggest the out-of-door roughness and rudeness of the war-path and the post-road through the wilderness, other articles belonging to the house are offered for sale, such as spinning-wheels; and the fashions of yore are recalled to our thoughts when we are told where and of whom we may buy knee-buckles, and powder for the hair.

Bradford's enterprise proved successful—the Gazette came to stay; it continued in existence down to the year 1848. Several other newspapers were started in Kentucky before the beginning of the nineteenth century. One of these, the Kentucky Herald, founded by James H. Stewart, February, 1795, at Lexington, lasted about ten years, and was merged in the Gazette. In 1797 Colonel William Hunter, an enterprising printer from New Jersey, came to Kentucky, and soon entered into lively competition with the Bradfords. He was one of the founders of the Washington Mirror, and also of the Frankfort Palladium, both of which newspapers were started in 1798. Hunter printed "Decisions of the Court of Appeals," "Littell's Laws of Kentucky," 4 vols., and "Littell's Political Transactions in and about Kentucky."

Colonel S. I. M. Major, in a sketch of the Frankfort press, gives a list of the papers published in Kentucky from 1787 to 1812, as follows:

1787, The Kentucky Gazette, Lexington.

1795, The Herald, Lexington.
1798, The Mirror, Washington.
1798, The Palladium, Frankfort.
1798, The Guardian of Freedom, Frankfort.
1798, The Kentucky Telegraph, ———.
1803, Western American, Bardstown.
1803, Independent Gazetteer, Lexington.
1803, Weekly Messenger, Washington.
1804, Republican Register, Shelbyville.
1805, The Mirror, Danville.
1805, The Informant, Danville.
1806, Western World, Frankfort.
1806, Republican Auxiliary, Washington.
1806, The Mirror, Russellville.
1806, Impartial Review, Bardstown.
1808, The Reporter, Lexington.
1808, Louisville Gazette, Louisville.
1808, Western Citizen, Paris.
1809, Farmers' Friend, Russellville.
1809, Political Theater, Lancaster.
1809, The Dove, Washington.
1809, The Globe, Richmond.
1810, The Examiner, Lancaster.
1810, American Republic, Frankfort.
1810, The Luminary, Richmond.
1811, American Statesman, Lexington.
1811, Western Courier, Louisville.
1811, Bardstown Repository, Bardstown.
1811, The Telegraph, Georgetown.

For interesting details concerning these and other Kentucky newspapers, the reader is referred to Perrin's Pioneer Press of Kentucky.

The first newspaper issued from Louisville was the Farmer's Library or Ohio Intelligencer, printed by Samuel Vail, a native of Vermont. This paper was started January 7, 1801, and was discontinued in 1808.

The Western Monitor, a weekly paper devoted to the Federal party, was begun in Lexington in 1814, and edited by Thomas Curry. The Monitor passed into the hands of

William Gibbs Hunt, a New England man, who, in 1819, changed it into the Western Review, of which a full account is given in the chapter on Early Periodical Literature.

The first daily newspaper of Kentucky was the Public Advertizer, founded by Shadrach Penn at Louisville. The Advertizer was started in 1818 as a weekly. After some years it became a semi-weekly, and then a daily. The first daily issue appeared April 4, 1826, one year before the Cincinnati Gazette became a daily.

The Focus, established in 1826, in Louisville, by W. W. Worsley and Dr. Joseph Buchanan, was merged in the celebrated Louisville Journal, the history of which will be found in the chapter on George D. Prentice.

On November 9, 1793, William Maxwell sent out, from a little garret on Front street, west of Main, Cincinnati, the initial number of the "Centinel of the Northwestern Territory," the first newspaper published north of the Ohio river. Wm. T. Coggeshall says: "A wheelbarrow would have moved all the types, cases, and stands which this pioneer establishment contained. The press was constructed entirely of wood, and, in order that the paper might be impressed, it was operated upon very much after the fashion that country boys operate on a cider press." The only copy of the Centinel known to the writer is owned by the Ohio Historical Society in Cincinnati. It was bought at auction for $148.

The Centinel bore the independent motto: "Open to all parties, but influenced by none." In 1796 the paper was sold to Edmund Freeman, who changed the name to Freeman's Journal, and published it until 1800, when he removed to Chillicothe.

A much more important paper was begun May 28, 1799, when Joseph Carpenter issued the first number of the Western Spy, which was continued irregularly for about ten years. At the time when the Spy first came out, the village of Cincinnati probably contained fewer than eight hundred inhabitants. The paper, of course, was a weekly, and it frequently failed to appear on the appointed day of

issue, skipping a week whenever circumstances made it inconvenient to come to time.

Carpenter's Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette passed into the possession of Carney and Morgan, who, in 1809, renamed it *The Whig*. After fifty-eight numbers of The Whig had been issued, the paper again changed owners and names, becoming the Advertizer, which was discontinued in 1811.

A newspaper called Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Mercury, edited by Rev. John W. Browne and published by Looker and Wallace, first appeared in December, 1804.

The Cincinnati Gazette, founded in July, 1815, absorbed the Liberty Hall, and, in January, 1827, became a daily.

The press was propagated rapidly in Ohio.[1] Newspa-

[1] The following facts were kindly furnished by Mr. R. G. Lewis, of Chillicothe, O.:

"The Scioto Gazette" was started in Chillicothe, O., by Windship and Willis, April 25, 1800. Nathaniel Willis, grandfather of the poet N. P. Willis, took sole charge of it, October 25, 1800, and published it for several years. He afterwards retired to a farm in the south-west corner of Ross county.

August 10, 1815, the "Scioto Gazette" and the "Fredonian Chronicle" were consolidated under John Bailhache. The "Gazette" had been published by James Barnes; the "Fredonian," started November, 1809, was published by John Bailhache.

"The Supporter" was started October, 1808; it was published in January, 1816, by Nashee and Denny; in March, 1816, it was published by George Nashee.

In January, 1819, John Scott was publisher of the "Scioto Gazette and Fredonian Chronicle." In April of the same year Bailhache and Scott were the publishers. October 30, 1822, "The Supporter and Scioto Gazette" was edited by John Bailhache, but published by George Nashee. In 1825, it was published by J. Bailhache & Co., and in 1826. by J. Bailhache.

"The Ohio Herald" was started at Chillicothe, August 3, 1805, by Thomas G. Bradford & Co. It was not long lived.

"The Farmer's Watch-Tower" was started in Urbana, O., by Corwin and Blackburn, in June, 1812.

"Ways of the World" was started in Urbana, O., July, 1820. Published, in 1821, by A. R. Colwell.

June 20, 1822, was issued No. 31 of Vol. XI of the "Columbus Gazette," Ohio, by P. H. Olmstead.

July 28, 1821, was published No. 1, Vol. VI, of the "Ohio Monitor and Patron of Industry," Columbus, O., by David Smith.

pers were soon established at Williamsburg, Lebanon, Hamilton, Dayton, Urbana, Greenfield, Marietta, Chillicothe, and other centers of population. In the year 1819 there were about forty newspapers in the state.

Nor were Indiana and the other western territories much behind Kentucky and Ohio in spreading the news. The Vincennes Sun, Vincennes, Indiana, edited by Elihu Stout, dates from 1803.[1] The Missouri Gazette, now the Republican, was started in St. Louis by Joseph Charless, in 1808. The Illinois Herald was founded at Kaskaskia in 1809 by Matthew Dunbar, the public printer. The Illinois Enquirer, the second newspaper in Illinois, was issued

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Vol. VI, No. 52, of the "American Friend," was published May 24, 1822, by R. Prentiss, at Marietta, O.

Vol. XIII, No. 38, of the "Western Herald and Steubenville Gazette" was published September 16, 1820, by James Wilson, at Steubenville.

No. 475 of the "Ohio Patriot" was published November 4, 1820, at New Lisbon, O.

No. XIV, Vol. I, "Miami Weekly Post," was published June 15, 1820, at Troy, Ohio.

No. 22, Vol. 2, "Olive Branch," was published April 16, 1819, at Circleville, O., by Olds and Thrall.

No. 286 of "The Western Star" was published May 25, 1822, at Lebanon, O., by Van Vleet & Co.

No. 31, Vol. I, of "The Galaxy," was published May 27, 1822, at Wilmington, O.

No. 13, Vol. III, of the "Delaware Patron and Franklin Chronicle," was published May 27, 1822, at Delaware, O., by Griswold and Howard.

No. 24, Vol. I, "The Dayton Watchman or Farmers and Mechanics' Journal," was published at Dayton by G. S. Houston and R. J. Skinner.

No. 41, Vol. XII, "The Ohio Eagle," was published at Lancaster, May 9, 1822, by John Herman.

No. 205, "Hillsborough Gazette and Highland Advertiser," was published May 16, 1822, by Moses Carothers.

No. 46, Vol. 2, "The Piqua Gazette and Register of News, Agriculture, Arts and Manufactures," was published July 4, 1822, by William R. Barrington.

No. 25, Vol. VIII, "Mad-River Courant," was published Nov. 21, 1828, at Urbana, O., by M. L. Lewis.

No. 77, "The Farmers' Friend," was published July 21, 1821, by William A. Camron, at Williamsburg, O.

There are others, also, published in Portsmouth, Springfield, West Union, Washington C. H., Xenia, Waverly, etc.

[1] See Chapter VIII.

at Shawneetown in 1818, by Henry Eddy and S. H. Kimmel. Judge James Hall succeeded Kimmel, and the name of the paper was altered to the Illinois Gazette.

The whole number of newspapers in the United States, in 1813, is recorded as three hundred and fifty-nine, of which seventeen were published in Kentucky, fourteen in Ohio, and six in Tennessee.

The Postmaster-General reported in 1824 that there were then 598 newspapers published in the United States. Of these Ohio had 48; Kentucky, 18; Indiana, 12; Illinois, 5; and Tennessee, 15. The number at that date in New York was 137, and in Pennsylvania, 110.

De Quincey says: "Not any want of a printing art—that is an art for multiplying impressions—but the want of a cheap material for *receiving* such impressions, was the obstacle to an introduction of printed books even as early as Pisistratus." This obstacle continued as late as the time of John Bradford. The difficulty and expense of obtaining paper was at first a great drawback to the progress of publication in the Ohio Valley. By and by, however, the supply came. The first paper mill of the West was begun in 1791 and completed in 1793, at Royal Springs, Georgetown, Kentucky, by Craig, Parkers & Co. This Craig was the Rev. Elisha Craig, the celebrated pioneer preacher. The Georgetown paper mill was a wooden building with a stone basement, and was sixty feet long by forty in width. It was destroyed by fire in the year 1836 or 1837. The first of the numerous paper mills on the Miami river was erected in the year 1814.

The first type foundry on the Ohio was established in 1820, when John P. Foote and Oliver Wells started the Cincinnati Type Foundry.

BACKWOODS BOOK-MAKING..

The newspaper offices were the first book publishing places in pioneer days, and it was not uncommon for the backwoods editor and publisher to sell his publications at retail. Almanacs, codes of local laws, and reprints of books in general demand, were manufactured and

vended by the enterprising newspaper man. We have mentioned that John Scull issued "Modern Chivalry" and other books from the job office of the Pittsburg Gazette, in 1793; and that Bradford and Hunter, rival editors in Kentucky, competed for the public printing of the state. and put forth histories of Kentucky from their active hand-presses. Hunter opened a book-store in Frankfort in 1808.

John Bradford, though he printed almanacs, circulars, and pamphlets from the year 1787, did not get out a book until 1793; and that was subsequent to the issue of a book by Maxwell and Cooch, who established a printing press in Lexington long after Bradford.

The first book published in Kentucky appeared in 1793, and it bears the following title:

"A Process in the Transylvania Presbytery, etc. Containing: 1st. The charges, depositions, and defense in which the defendant is led, occasionally, to handle the much debated subject of psalmody. 2d. His reasons for declining any further connections with the body to which he belonged. 3d. His present plan of proceeding with the pastoral charge. 4th. His belief and that of his people concerning the articles of faith contended between the reformed associate Sinod and the Sinod of New York and Philadelphia. 5th. An appendix on a late performance of the Rev. Mr. John Black, of March Creek, Pennsylvania. By Adam Rankin, Pastor at Lexington, Kentucky. Lexington: Printed by Maxwell and Cooch, at the sign of the Buffalo, Main street, 1793."

This voluminous title page fronts a duodecimo of 98 pages in the old-fashioned nonpareil type of the last century. It is bound in leather and has quite a venerable appearance. It grew out of a quarrel in the church as to whether the psalms of David or the hymns of Watts should be sung. No doubt each party sang well its psalms or its hymns, but there were discords enough to rend the church and send Rankin and his party off singing their psalms while the others sang their hymns. The following year, 1794, John Bradford published "A reply

to a narrative of Mr. Adam Rankin's trial," etc. It was an octavo of 71 pages. And then the quarreling and singing went on long after it had furnished Kentucky with its first printed book. Probably those who sang Watts's hymns were strongest, for, in 1803, Joseph Charless published a duodecimo of "hymns and spiritual songs for the use of Christians," at Lexington, containing 246 pages, while there seems to be no psalm-book published by the other party.

In 1793, John Bradford printed in folio the Acts of the Kentucky Legislature and the Journals of the Senate and House of Representatives for the June and November sessions of 1792. He continued to print the acts and journals in folio until 1797, after which the octavo form was adopted. In 1799, Bradford issued his general instructor intended to furnish justices of the peace with the law forms necessary for their decisions, and the same year issued the first volume of his collected laws of Kentucky. In 1803, he issued the large quarto edition of the decisions of the Supreme Court of Kentucky, by James Hughes, which, with its diagrams, was a wonderful work for the times. In 1807, was issued the second volume of collected laws of Kentucky, and in 1817, the third and last.

While Bradford was thus printing numerous law books and legislature proceedings, he was also doing something for the unprofessional reader. In 1798, he issued the celebrated "Letter from George Nicholas of Kentucky to his friend in Virginia," and in 1799, "An Account of the Remarkable Occurrences in the Life of Colonel James Smith, of Bourbon County, during his Captivity with the Indians from the Year 1755 to 1759, inclusive."

After the present century had well set in, there were other printers in Lexington besides those named, and Lexington became a publishing center not only for Kentucky but for the West. Besides the newspaper offices of the *Gazette* and the *Herald* and the printing-offices of Maxwell and Cooch, Thomas T. Skillman, Joseph Charless, Wessely and Smith, and Downing and Phillips, were prepared to issue books. So much capacity for turning manuscript into

print was calculated to produce the matter to be printed, and such was the result. Important works now began to come from the Lexington presses at frequent intervals. In 1800, Bradford published "Voyages, Adventures, and Literature of the French Emigrants from the year 1789 to 1799;" in 1802, "A Review of the Noted Revivals in Kentucky, by Adam Rankin;" "Wilson's Grammar, revised and corrected;" "New Travels to the Westward;" and "Trying the Great Reformation in this State, etc.;" in 1803, "Political, Commercial and Moral Reflections on the late Cession of Louisiana," by Allan B. Magruder; "Poems," by J. R. Toulmin; "The Stud Book," and David Barlow's "Defense of the Trinity;" in 1804, "Infernal Conference, or Dialogues of Devils;" "Notes on the Navigation of the Mississippi River," by James M. Bradford, and "An Apology for Calvinism," by R. H. Bishop; in 1805, "The Chain of Lorenzo," by Lorenzo Dow, and "Strictures on the Letters of Barton W. Stone," by John P. Campbell; in 1806, "A Map of the Rapids of the Ohio, with explanatory Notes," by Jared Brooks; and during these six years, numerous school books, such as Harrison's English Grammar, the Union Primer, School Master's Assistant, the American Orator, the Western Lecturer, the Monitor, the Kentucky Preceptor, and the Kentucky English Grammar, by Samuel Wilson.

In 1815, "The History of the American Revolution," by David Ramsay, was issued in two octavo volumes by Downing and Phillips of Lexington. In 1816, Wesseley and Smith issued the "History of the Late War in the Western Country," by Robert B. McAfee, and the same year, F. Bradford issued "A Complete History of the Late American War with Great Britain and her Allies," by M. Smith. In 1821, William G. Hunt issued "A Collection of Some of the Most Interesting Narratives of Indian Warfare in the West," by Samuel L. Metcalf. In 1824, Thomas Skillman issued "An Outline of the History of the Church in the State of Kentucky," by Robert H. Bishop.

It would be vain to pursue the history of Lexington publications further, unless a regular bibliography were

intended. It may be stated, however, that a large proportion of the books there printed was of a religious character. Mr. Durrett[1] has whole shelves of them, and but few of them are of much value, except as showing the cast of thought in their day.

All the Kentucky books, however, were not printed at Lexington. In the little town of Washington, in Mason county, books were printed at an early day. In September, 1797, a weekly newspaper called the "Mirror" was established by Beaumont and Hunter, and the next year books began to issue from their press. "The Kentucky Primer," the "Kentucky Spelling Book," and the "Ohio Navigator, comprising an Ample Account of the Beautiful River from its Head to its Junction with the Mississippi," were all issued from this press in 1798.

Toward the close of the summer of 1798, the enterprising Beaumont and Hunter moved to Frankfort, Kentucky, and there established a weekly newspaper called the "Palladium." Soon thereafter, the "Mirror" was discontinued and the printing of books transferred to the office in Frankfort. Here the school books, etc., begun at Washington were continued. The editors did not now, however, confine themselves to school books, but before the year 1798 had closed they issued "Speeches of Erskine and Kidd in the Trial for Publishing Paine's 'Age of Reason;'" "A Summary of the Declaration of the Faith and Practice of the Baptist Church;" "The Several Acts Relative to Stamp Duties;" "A Sermon on Sacred Music," by Rev. John A. Campbell; "A View of the Administration of Government," and "Steuben's Manual Exercises."

It was not long before more important books than those just named began to be pulished at Frankfort. In 1802, appeared "A Collection of all the Public and Permanent Acts of the General Assembly of Kentucky," by Harry Toulmin; in 1806, "Political Transactions in and Concerning Kentucky," by William Littell; "A Review of the Criminal Law of the Commowealth of Kentucky," by

[1] The author is under obligation to Col. Durrett for most of the information here given concerning Kentucky books.

Harry Toulmin and James Blair, and "View of the President's Conduct," by Joseph Hamilton Daveiss; in 1808, "Principles of Law and Equity," by William Littell, and the following year, by the same author, the first volume of his great work, "The Statute Law of Kentucky," which closed with the fifth volume in 1819; in 1810, the great work of Joseph Hamilton Daveiss entitled "Sketch of a Bill for an Uniform Militia of the United States, with Reflections on the State of the Nation," etc.; in 1812, the first edition of Humphrey Marshall's great history of Kentucky, followed in 1824 by the enlarged two-volume edition; in 1814, "Festoons of Fancy," poems by Wm. Littell; in 1816, "A New Kentucky Composition of Hymns," by Rev. Wm. Downs; and in 1824, "Ancient History or Annals of Kentucky," by C. S. Rafinesque.

During this time, however, the making of books was not confined to Lexington and Frankfort. In 1810, there was printed in the town of Richmond, Madison county, "The American Medical Guide," by Thomas W. Ruble; and in 1812, a large octavo, entitled "The Philosophy of Human Nature," by Joseph Buchannan. The same year, 1812, in the town of Paris, in Bourbon county, was printed "A Treatise on the Mode and Manners of Indian War," etc., by Colonel James Smith. In these early times, books were printed at Georgetown, Harrodsburg, Versailles, Bardstown, Bloomfield, Glasgow, Russellville, Covington, Bowling Green, etc. The celebrated "Sketches of Western Adventure," by John A. McClung, was printed at Maysville in 1832, and in 1847, Lewis Collins's "History of Kentucky."

Nothing has been said about book-making at Louisville, and for the simple reason that the work did not begin there until it had long been successfully conducted at other places. In 1801, Samuel Vail established a weekly newspaper in Louisville, called the "Farmer's Library, or Ohio Intelligencer." Pamphlets, hand-bills, circulars, etc., soon were issued from this office, but nothing that can be honored with the name of book, that has come down to our times. In 1806, F. Penniston established the second

newspaper in Louisville, which was called the "Western American;" in 1808, the "Louisville Gazette" was established by Charless and Bruner, and in 1810, the "Western Courier," by Nicholas Clarke; but nothing in the shape of a book has come down to us from any of these early printing offices. It was not until Shadrack Penn established the "Public Advertiser" here, in 1818, that any book was produced worthy of the name, and that has come down to our times.

In 1819, was issued from the press of Shadrack Penn, "Sketches of Louisville and its Environs," by H. McMurtrie. This was the first history of Louisville, and the first book worthy of the name printed in Louisville. Book-making, thus slow to begin in Louisville, dragged slowly on for a number of years, but still it went on. As the old barges and keels gave place to steamboats in the water, and turnpikes and railroads took the place of the buffalo paths upon the land, books took the place of pamphlets and hand-bills and circulars, in the printing offices. Those of an early date, such as "Meditations on Various Religious Subjects," by David P. Nelson, in 1828; "An Account of the Law-suit," etc., by Rev. N. L. Rice, in 1837; and "Pulpit Sketches," by Rev. John Newland Maffitt, in 1839, were not of a character to add lasting fame to the town as a publishing center. In 1832, the first directory of Louisville was published, containing a sketch of the city by Mann Butler, and two years thereafter, Mr. Butler's history of Kentucky was issued from the press of Wilcox, Dickerman & Co. This directory and history were far the most important books that had been published since McMurtrie's "Sketches," and it was some time before any others of equal value followed.

The first book printed in Ohio is known as "Maxwell's Code." It is a small octavo of 225 pages, entitled:

"Laws of the Territory of the United States, Northwest of the Ohio, adopted and made by the Governor and Judges, in their legislative capacity, at a session begun on Friday the XXIX day of May, one thousand seven hun-

dred and ninety-five, and ending Tuesday the 25th day of August following, with an Appendix of Resolutions and the Ordinance for the Government of the Territory. By Authority. CINCINNATI: *Printed by* W. Maxwell, 1796."

The laws enacted by the territorial legislature in 1798, were published in the same year by Edmund Freeman, Cincinnati; and subsequent laws, by Carpenter and Findley, Printers to the Territory, in 1800. When the capital was removed from Cincinnati to Chillicothe, Windship and Willis, of the latter place, were made printers "to the Honorable the Legislature," and issued volumes of laws in 1801 and 1802.

Carpenter and Findley, proprietors of the "Western Spy, and Hamilton Gazette," published in that paper, of date August 19, 1801, the following: "Now in press, and for sale at this office, to-morrow, price 25 cents, a pamphlet entitled, *The Little Book: The Arcanum Opened, containing the fundamentals of a pure and most ancient theology—The Urim, or Halcyon Cabala, containing the platform of the spiritual tabernacle rebuilt, composed of one grand substantive —and Seven excellent Topics, in opposition to spurious Christianity.* A liberal deduction will be made to those who take a quantity. No trust."

Almanacs were published in Cincinnati by Wm. McFarland, in 1805; by Carney and Morgan, in 1809; by John W. Browne & Co., at the Liberty Hall Office, in 1810; by Joseph Carpenter, in 1811; by Browne and Looker, in 1813; by Looker and Wallace, in 1814; by Williams and Mason, in 1816; by Morgan, Lodge & Co., in 1817; by Ferguson and Sanxay, in 1818; and by Oliver Farnsworth & Co., in 1822. The number of these names of publishing firms gives some idea of the activity of the printing business in Cincinnati, in her young days.

One of the earliest books published in Cincinnati was issued from the press of David E. Carney, in the year 1807, and bears the title, "The Trial of Charles Vattier, convicted of the Crimes of Burglary and Larceny, for stealing from the Office of Receiver of Public Monies for

the District of Cincinnati, large sums in specie and bank-notes, amounting to many thousands of dollars, etc."

Dr. Daniel Drake's "Notices Concerning Cincinnati," printed by John W. Browne in 1810, is declared by Peter G. Thompson, author of "A Bibliography of the State of Ohio," to be "without doubt the rarest work relating to Cincinnati." Drake's "Picture of Cincinnati," printed by Looker & Wallace in 1815, Mr. Thompson tells us is "often erroneously catalogued as the first book printed in Cincinnati."

A very rare and curious volume printed by Browne & Looker for the author, in 1813, is "The Indian Doctor's Dispensatory; being Father Smith's Advice respecting Diseases and their Cure; consisting of Prescriptions for many Complaints, and a Description of Medicines, Simple and Compound, showing their virtues and how to apply them. Designed for the benefit of his children, his friends, and the public, but more especially for the Citizens of the Western Parts of the United States of America. By Peter Smith of the Miami Country." Mr. Thompson quotes from the preface of this primitive pharmacopeia this passage: "The author would notify the purchaser that he puts the price of one dollar on this book, well knowing that 75 cents would be enough for the common price of a book of this size; but those who do not chuse to allow him 25 cents for his advice, may desist from the purchase. He claims this 25 cents as a small compensation for the labor and observations of fifty years, etc."

Doctor Drake, in his "Picture of Cincinnati," 1815, says: "Ten years ago, there had not been printed in this place a single volume; but since the year 1811, twelve different *books*, besides may pamphlets, have been executed. These works, it is true, were of moderate size; but they were *bound*, and averaged more than 200 pages each."

The first publishers, as we have noted, were proprietors of newspapers. One of the earliest and most energetic of these pioneers of the press was Ephraim Morgan, a

Quaker (born 1790, died 1873), who was a proprietor of the "Whig" in 1809, of the "Spy" in 1815, and senior member of the firm of Morgan, Lodge & Fisher, which, in 1826, established the *Daily Gazette.* Mr. Morgan built up a large publishing business, and had perhaps the largest printing house and bindery in the city up to about the year 1830. In that year the house had "five power presses, propelled by water, each of which could throw off 5,000 impressions daily." They manufactured the Eclectic School Books prepared by Truman & Smith.

The firm of Truman & Smith, founded by Winthrop B. Smith about the year 1830, which grew to be the most extensive school-book publishing house in the world, and is now merged in the American Book Company, leaped to prosperity almost at the beginning of its career. Seven hundred thousand copies of their books had been sold up to the year 1841. The series at that time comprised only McGuffy's Readers and Speller, Ray's Arithmetics, Miss Beecher's Moral Instructor, Mansfield's Political Grammar, and Mason's Music Book.

When the Territory of Indiana was organized, under the governorship of Wm. Henry Harrison, the laws adopted by the governor and territorial judges were printed, and one of the few sets now known to exist is owned by Judge John H. Stotsenburg, of New Albany, Indiana. The sessions of the governor and judges were held in the years 1801–2–3. The proceedings of the Territorial General Assembly were published in the *Western Sun*, a newspaper established by Elihu Stout, at Vincennes, in 1804. This was the first newspaper published in Indiana, and it is interesting to note that Mr. Stout came from Lexington, that starting point of western culture. In 1807, a volume of revised statutes was printed at Vincennes with the title, "Laws of the Indiana Territory." The publishers were Messrs. Stout and Smoot, authorized public printers. The paper on which the code was printed was conveyed by pack-horse from Georgetown, Ky. A copy of the "Revision of 1807" is owned by William Farrell, Paoli, Indiana.

THE BOOK TRADE.

The Western Spy of August 13, 1799, contains an advertisement announcing that James Ferguson would sell in Cincinnati a large assortment of books, about 120 in number, among which were Young's "Night Thoughts," Watt's "Psalms," "Vicar of Wakefield," Fox's "Book of Martyrs," and other religious, classical and standard works. In the same newspaper, of date January 30, 1802, Mr. A. Casey, of Philadelphia, has the following notice:

"PUBLIC AUCTION.

"Will be offered for sale on Tuesday, the second day of February, at the Court House in Cincinnati, a handsome collection of books and pamphlets."

Mr. Robert Clarke conjectures that the books offered for sale by Mr. Casey were purchased by public-spirited citizens and probably formed the basis of the first Cincinnati library, organized in 1802. There was certainly no book-shop in the town at that time. One was in operation in Lexington, Ky, in 1803, owned by John Charles. Frankfort, Ky., had a book-shop five years later. The wants of the people, in the line of books, were supplied at first through the newspapers, or by the keepers of general stores. Isaac Drake combined traffic in books and stationery with the drug business, and John P. Foote made it an adjunct to his vocation as type-founder.

So far as I have been able to ascertain, John P. Foote was the originator of the first regular book-store in Cincinnati. In 1820 (?), Mr. Foote, in company with Oliver Wells, started the Cincinnati Type Foundry, a branch of E. White's New York foundry. Not long afterward Foote opened a book-store at No. 14 Lower Market street. The business was continued until 1828.

A rival book-store was established by Messrs. John T. Drake, of Massachusetts, and William Conclin, of New York, who carried on business until 1829, when the partnership was dissolved, Mr. Drake going into business

with Phillips & Spear, paper-makers, and Mr. Conclin starting a new book-store at 43 Main street, where he remained a dozen years. Mr. John T. Drake died in 1830, and his brother, Josiah Drake, carried on the book business from 1831 to 1839. His store, No. 14 Main street, was the literary resort of the day. It is stated that his sales amounted to from eighty to a hundred thousand dollars a year.

There were several other book-sellers in the city in the period of which we are writing, among them Flash & Ryder, Thomas Reddish, Hubbard & Edmunds, Jacob Ernst, Nathan and George Gilford, and Desilver & Burr. But it seems that E. H. Flint, son of the Rev. Timothy Flint, and publisher of the "Western Review," was the principal competitor of Josiah Drake, and that his book-shop was a favorite loafing-place for bibliophiles and musicians. In the year 1827, Flint kept the following advertisement standing in the "Western Review:"

"E. H. FLINT,

HAS OPENED A BOOK-STORE,

Corner of Fifth and Walnut streets, south side of Upper Market,

CINCINNATI:

Where he has a general assortment of school-books, geographies, atlases, stationery, &c. His assortment at present is small, but comprises many interesting and valuable works, particularly upon the history and geography of the Western country. He has many books that were selected, to form part of a private library. He intends soon to import from Boston and Philadelphia a complete assortment of books, stationery, engravings, &c., and to keep on hand all the new publications of interest. Having recently commenced the business of sending books to all the chief towns and villages in the valley of the Mississippi, he will be able to make up packages with neatness, and transmit them with safety and dispatch to any town in the Western and Southwestern country. Being

determined to devote himself to that business, and to make annual visits to those towns and villages, he solicits orders of this kind, for which he will charge very moderate commissions. He will, also, sell books at auction, if transmitted with that object. He will endeavor to merit confidence by punctuality and attention, and will thankfully acknowledge the smallest favor."

Flint's store was removed in 1828 to No. 160 Main street, "nearly opposite the First Presbyterian Church," and the proprietor advertised, by title, a long list of books and other articles, including "quills," "silver pens," "rice paper, assorted colors," "seal stamps," and a "large assortment of new and fashionable music."

The booksellers who advertised in "Cist's Cincinnati, in 1841," were Williamson & Strong, 140 Main street; Truman & Smith, Main between Fourth and Fifth streets; J. W. Ely, "Sign of the Franklin Head," 10 Lower Market street; E. Morgan & Co., 131 Main street; George Conclin, 55 Main street; and U. P. James, 26 Pearl street. Conclin issued quite a list of original publications, including the "Practical Farmer," "Texan Emigrant," "Life of Colonel Daniel Boone," "Life and Adventures of Black Hawk," "Western Pilot," and "Hall's Western Reader."

The name of U. P. James, more than that of any other early publisher in the Ohio Valley, is identified with what is distinctively of a literary character. Without detracting from the merits of his cotemporaries, we may credit Mr. James with being the first Western publisher who ventured to embark any considerable capital in reproducing standard works in general literature, and who had the enthusiasm to bring out new books in prose and verse by home authors. His long, useful, and beautiful life has but recently closed, February 25, 1889, and the "American Geologist" and other scientific journals have honored his memory by recording, with praise, his eminent services as a paleontologist, geologist, and patron of natural science in general. The writers of the West

also owe him that unpayable debt which gratitude incurs to a benefactor of their profession.

The following passage from a memorial printed in 1889 may fittingly end this chapter.

"Uriah Pierson James was born in the town of Goshen, Orange Co., N. Y., on December 30, 1811. His father, Thomas James, was a carpenter, who followed his trade until his death in 1824, the result of an accident. His mother, Rhoda Pierson James, was a direct descendant of Thomas Pierson, a brother of Rev. Abraham Pierson, the first president of Yale College. He had two brothers and three sisters, all of whom he survived, so that he was in reality the last of his immediate family.

"In 1831, long before any railroad had crossed the Alleghanies, he and his brother Joseph traveled by stage and canal, west to Cincinnati, arriving in August, and witnessing the great flood of February, 1832. Having learned the trades of printer and stereotyper, he began to work at these soon after his arrival in Cincinnati, and followed them successfully for a number of years. In a short time he began publishing books, and his first venture, the "Eolian Songster," was printed in 1832, the copyright being dated June 15th. This book was followed at intervals by others until the complete list would number hundreds. In 1847, he entered into partnership with his brother Joseph as publishers, printers, stereotypers, and type-founders, the firm name being J. A. & U. P. James. The business increased rapidly, book publishing became a prominent part of it, and the firm became widely known throughout the Mississippi Valley as the 'Harpers of the West.' Many of the books published by the firm and later by Mr. James himself have had a very wide circulation. The 'James's River Guide' and the 'Western Pilot' were standard works among river men on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. These books contained charts of the river channels and accounts of the cities and towns along their banks, and they were considered so accurate that in several instances they were used to settle disputed points in the courts.

"He published an edition of 'Vestiges of Creation' soon after that celebrated book first appeared. He was a patron of many of the early authors of the West, and was the means of bringing many of them before a very wide circle of readers. For many years he edited and published the 'Farmer's and Mechanic's Almanac' long considered a standard among the farmers, who looked upon its predictions of the weather with the greatest respect and confidence. The flood of patent medicine almanacs and calendars finally made this unprofitable and its publication was discontinued in 1869."

CHAPTER III.

EARLY PERIODICAL LITERATURE OF THE OHIO VALLEY.

"THE MEDLEY, OR MONTHLY MISCELLANY."

It is recorded in numerous publications, and has been accepted as final, by bibliographers, that the *Western Review*, edited by William Gibbs Hunt, Lexington, Kentucky, in 1819–21, was the first literary magazine published west of the Allegheny Mountains. A recent discovery by Mr. A. C. Quisenberry, of Lexington, an accomplished and enthusiastic student of Kentucky literature and history, proves that the pioneers of the Ohio Valley could boast of a distinctively literary monthly, in the year 1803, full sixteen years before Hunt's Review appeared. *The Medley, or Monthly Miscellany*, printed by Daniel Bradford, in Lexington, Ky., for one year only, from January to December, 1803, must be considered the first magazine of the West, at least until somebody finds its predecessor. Historians need be cautious in deciding upon *first events*—the first child born, the first house built, the first institution established in a given settlement, or state, or territory.

Mr. Quisenberry, while engaged in gathering material for a biographical sketch of the elder Humphrey Marshall, author of *Marshall's History of Kentucky*, had occasion to ransack the Lexington library, and to make diligent search through the files of the *Kentucky Gazette*, the earliest newspaper published west of Pittsburg. His attention was attracted by the following announcement in the Gazette, dated October 26, 1802:

"PROPOSALS,

BY DANIEL BRADFORD,

For Publishing by Subscription

THE MEDLEY,

OR MONTHLY MISCELLANY.

I. The MEDLEY shall be published in numbers, one of which shall be ready for delivery the first Tuesday in every month, and regularly forwarded to subscribers as directed.

II. Each number shall contain twenty-four pages, *duodecimo*, Printed with a neat type, on good paper.

III. The price to Subscribers will be *One Dollar* per *annum*, to be paid at the expiration of six months, or *seventy-five cents* at the time of subscribing.

☞ The first number will issue on January 4th, 1803.

The design of this publication being to combine Amusement with Useful information, it will be the Study of the Editor, by the variety of his Subjects, to attain that object, and suit the tastes of each reader.

It is expected that Literary Characters will accept the opportunity this Work will afford them of rendering the result of their lucubrations useful to the public.

BESIDES Original Essays, The MEDLEY shall contain Selections in Prose and Verse, from the most approved Authors.

As 'The proper study of Mankind is Man,' biographical sketches of those whom talent or patriotism have rendered conspicuous shall be frequently introduced.

THE advantages resulting from the publication of a Literary Miscellany must be obvious. The editor has only to add that Industry in the collection of materials, and particular attention to the merits and variety of Extract, shall not be wanting on his part to entitle the *Medley* to the patronage of the Public."

According to this prospectus, the first number of the

Medley was to appear January fourth, eighteen hundred and three. On that date the following notice appeared in the KENTUCKY GAZETTE: "The Editor of the Gazette announces that a disappointment in securing paper has obliged the Editor to defer the publication of the first number of THE MEDLEY until the last Tuesday in the Month, at which time it will certainly be commenced, and thereafter be continued regularly. The number of the subscription list for THE MEDLEY has already extended beyond the most sanguine expectations of the Editor; but what peculiarly adds to his gratification is to find among the number a great proportion of ladies, under whose protecting auspices double diligence shall be used to make the work worthy of a patronage so amiable."

On January 3, 1804, just one year after the above notice was printed, the Editor of the Gazette addressed his readers as follows: "The subscribers to THE MEDLEY are informed that it will be no longer published. The twelfth number, which was issued on Tuesday last, completes the volume. Those who wish to preserve their volumes can have them bound on reasonable terms; and any parts lost or destroyed will be replaced at 6d per number. A few sets, complete, may be had on the same terms."

These notices in the KENTUCKY GAZETTE aroused Mr. Quisenberry's curiosity and led him to discover a complete, bound copy of the MEDLEY in the *Lexington Library*. He says, in a letter to the writer of this: "I had seen several volumes of Mr. Hunt's 'Western Review,' but had never even heard of 'THE MEDLEY.' The Librarian stated that she had never heard of it, and that the library contained no copy of 'THE MEDLEY' magazine. Not content with this, I began on my own account a search of the library, and was finally rewarded by finding in an odd corner a full volume of the little magazine, bound in sheep, and in an excellent state of preservation. It was uncatalogued. The twelve numbers aggregate 276 pages, and the pages are about the size of those in the old 'blue-backed' Webster's spelling book. I believe it to be the

only copy of this pioneer Western magazine now in existence."

The contents of the *Medley* are varied, comprising essays, sketches, short stories, poems, and miscellaneous articles, original and selected. A series of papers on "Commerce" runs through the year. There is a biographical study on Samuel Adams, by James Sullivan; a History of the Virginian Mountains, by Thomas Jefferson, and an account of Monticello written by an Englishman in 1797. Perhaps the most notable, original articles in the magazine are two on the "Character of Thomas Jefferson," from the pen of Allan Bowie Magruder, once a prominent lawyer in Kentucky, and afterward U. S. Senator from Louisiana, in 1812. He was an author of some prominence, and wrote extensively on Louisiana, and on the Indians. His article on the character of Jefferson was reprinted in several European papers, and was copied in a New York paper which credited it to the London *Times*. Finally it came out in book form. Magruder was born in 1775 and died in 1822.

The index to the *Medley* shows more than a hundred headings, among which are "Advice to Married Ladies," "The Story of Alcander and Septimus," "History of Maria Arnold," "Character of Lord Chatham," "Captain Cook," "Dreadful Effects of Jealousy," "Comtesse Genlis," "The Experienced Man's Advice to his Son, on Drinking, Dress, etc.," "Charles James Fox," "Intemperance: Advice to the Bloods of the Hour," "Sir William Jones," "Thoughts on the Word 'Woman,'" "Volcanoes in the Moon, by Dr. Herschell," "The Vision of Hamid, an Eastern Tale." From a long list of titles of original poems, the following are taken as a sample: "A Tear to Hume," "An Ode (in Latin) to Thomas Jefferson," "Lines on Seeing Miss E. B. Shed Tears at the Celebration of her Marriage," "Ode to Hope, by a Young Gentleman of Lexington," "Ode Addressed by a Physician to his Horse."

GIBBS HUNT'S WESTERN REVIEW.

More than twenty ephemeral periodicals of a semi-literary character were published in Kentucky between the years 1798 and 1820, of which some of the titles are given in the list appended to this chapter.

But the second literary magazine of historical importance published west of the Allegheny mountains appeared in Lexington, Kentucky. The title is "The Western Review and Miscellaneous Magazine: a Publication Devoted to Literature and Science." It ran from August, 1819, to July, 1821, inclusive, making four volumes of 384 pages each. The editor and publisher was Mr. William Gibbs Hunt. A perfect copy of this rare periodical lies before me as I write.

The Western Review was a carefully edited, unpretending, dignified publication, though in some respects crude and provincial. Its scientific, historical, and archæological features have a permanent value. The geology, topography and natural history of the Ohio Valley received much attention in its pages. A series of articles entitled "Indian Antiquities," contributed to it by John D. Clifford, elicited much contemporary comment, and scientific men still regard the series with interest. Mr. Clifford was a member of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences, and also of the Antiquarian Society of Massachusetts. He was a citizen of Lexington, where he died May 8, 1820.

Caleb Atwater, born 1778, died 1867, Indian commissioner under Jackson and the author of a "History of Ohio," wrote some letters to The Western Review from his home in Circleville, Ohio. Prof. C. S. Rafinesque, of Transylvania University, contributed numerous articles on the botony, zoology and meteorology of the West. He furnished several on the Ohio river and its fishes.[1]

[1] This was afterward published separately in pamphlet form. It is exceedingly scarce; has sold for $50. Prof. D. S. Jordan has written a valuable monogram on this first effort to describe the fishes of the Ohio, which was published by the Smithsonian Institution.

But perhaps the most important, and certainly the most readable part of the contents of the magazine, is the series of authentic narratives headed "Heroic and Sanguinary Conflicts with the Indians." In the opening number of his periodical the editor solicits, "from persons in every part of the western country who may be able to furnish them, authentic and well attested narratives of this kind, mentioning names and dates, and detailing all the valuable facts with the utmost minuteness and precision." In a foot-note he says further: "Gentlemen who are not in the habit of writing for the public, and who are not even accustomed to composition of any sort, are still solicited to communicate, in the plainest manner, the facts within their knowledge." The solicitation appears to have called forth a good many responses, for almost every number of the magazine contains one or more "thrilling narratives," chiefly relating to the early settlement of Kentucky.

Appearing, as it did, so soon after the close of the War of 1812–15, The Western Review contained much concerning the political and military characters and questions of the time. The first article in the first number of the work is a lengthy review of Reed and Eaton's "Life of Jackson;" and the same number contains a biographical sketch of Major Zachary Taylor, then a rising hero, in the thirty-fifth year of his age.

Consonant with the spirit of the day, the periodical published occasional "forensic" efforts, orations, eulogies and so-forth, for the encouragement of eloquence. An elaborate essay, by C. D., on "American Eloquence," startles the reader by the conclusion that the "time is at hand when American eloquence shall glow in the fervid fire of Demosthenes and roll in the copious magnificence of Tully." We ought to be thankful that a prophecy so terrible was not fulfilled.

The purely literary department of The Western Review was very prominent, and was evidently conducted with pride by Mr. Hunt and the "few friends of learning" who wrote the leading articles. The title, "Review," was no misnomer, for the magazine devoted more than half its

space to formal reviews of current books in general literature. Within the brief twenty-four months of its existence, it spread before its critical readers full synopses, with extracts and comments, of Scott's "Tales of a Landlord," "Ivanhoe," "The Monastery," "The Abbot," and "Kenilworth," these five all coming out in two years. Among other new books reviewed were Southey's "Life of Wolsey" and Irving's "Sketch Book," of which last the critic says: "This work is not so well known in the western country as from its literary merit and interesting character it ought to be." Alluding to the story of Rip Van Winkle, the reviewer betrays an amusing incapacity for humor by gravely objecting to the possibility of a man's sleeping for twenty years! "We are only assured that it is an absolute fact," grumbles the literal commentator, "and are, of course, unable to conjecture how the story can be reconciled with reason or common sense."

No fewer than three of Byron's poetical productions are reviewed in this pioneer western magazine. These are "Mazeppa," the first part of "Don Juan," and the "Vision of Dante." The moral character of "Don Juan" of course is reprehended. I wonder how the "Hesperian bards" relished the remark that Byron "seems to have no fixed principles upon any subject, but is entirely a poet."

The Western Review has but little to say on American poetry, for the reason that but little American poetry existed in 1819. There is indeed a long article on "The Poetical Works of John Trumbull, LL.D.," closing with some strictures upon the "school of poetry, in which Trumbull, Dwight, Barlow, Humphreys and some others who were educated at Yale College formed themselves." The article concedes that these writers produced works that are "highly respectable," and caps the climax of faint literary praise by assuring us that "they were men of high minds, pure morals and ardent patriotism."

Halleck's "Fanny," published anonymously in 1820, was reviewed and commended cautiously by the Lexington censors. The author was advised to employ his muse upon subjects more worthy of her.

Metrical composition was a copious element in Gibbs Hunt's periodical. Every number displayed from four to six pages headed "Poetry," for the most part original. There were enigmas, impromptus, inscriptions, elegies, epigrams, songs, odes, and "effusions," specifically so headed. There were album verses and lines mildly amatory "To Julia," "To Malvina," "To Sylvia," "To Julia" again, "To a Little Bird," "To a Rose-Bud," and, finally, "To Julia's Urn," which, being interpreted, happily means Julia's tombstone. The odes were most numerous. These and the elegies were written now in English and again in Latin. Several semi-erotic poems were written in French, and a few even in Italian—French and Italian of Lexington. For this versing in foreign tongue Transylvania University doubtless was responsible. The first commencement of that institution occurred July 12, 1820, with seven graduates steeped in classic literature.

The last number of the last volume of The Western Review, July, 1821, contains a genuine poem, entitled the "Boat Horn," by Orlando. This was the first draft of William Orlando Butler's[1] melodious lyric, the "Boatman's Horn," afterward made familiar to the public in Coggeshall's "Poetry of the West." Coggeshall says it was first published in 1835, but he is mistaken. It came out, as I have said, in 1821, when the author was twenty-eight years old.

On the completion of the fourth and final volume of the "Review," the editor wrote: "If we have in any degree succeeded in creating or fostering a literary taste; if we have, to any extent, drawn out the resources of the scholars of the western country; if we have been instrumental in preserving for the future historian and for the admiration of posterity any of those interesting narratives, which contemporaries only could furnish, of the difficulties and and dangers and almost incredible deeds of heroism that distinguished, and ought to immortalize, the early settlers

[1] General Wm. O. Butler, soldier and politician, was born in 1791, and died in 1880. See "Life and Public Services," by F. P. Blair, Jr., 1848.

in the West; if, in fine, we have successfully repelled a single unjust aspersion cast upon the American character, our exertions have not been in vain, and we have no cause to regret the existence, feeble and short-lived as it may have been, of The Western Review."

THE CINCINNATI LITERARY GAZETTE.

This is the age of magazines,
Even sceptics must confess it;
Where is the town of much renown
That has not one to bless it?
—*Thomas Peirce in the Literary Gazette*, 1824.

Three months after the first number of Hunt's Monthly came out, Dr. Joseph Buchanan issued in Cincinnati the initial number of a weekly paper called the Literary Cadet, the pioneer literary leaf of the Queen City. Before six months elapsed the Cadet was merged in the Western Spy, a newspaper dating from 1799. In 1821–2 lived and died the Olio, a semi-monthly literary venture, published and edited by John H. Wood and Samuel S. Brooks. Among the contributors to the Olio were Robert T. Lytle, Solomon S. Smith, Dennis M'Henry, John H. James, Lemuel Reynolds, and Lewis Noble.

It was in the days of the Olio that John P. Foote started a bookstore at No. 14 Lower Market street. This became a meeting place for men of literary inclinations. Mr. W. T. Coggeshall recorded in the Genius of the West that "One evening in the latter part of the year 1823, John P. Foote, Peyton S. Symmes, Benjamin Drake, John H. James, D. Dashiel, and one or two others, assembled in the back room of the bookstore, when the propriety of a literary gazette was taken up for discussion. There was no lack of confident hopefulness in the opinions of the counselors, and the publication was resolved upon."

The Literary Gazette was issued weekly from the press of A. N. Deming, corner of Main and Columbia streets, opposite to the Western Museum. The first number appeared January 1, 1824. Each number bore the motto: "Not to display learning, but to excite a taste for it."

Whether any very eager taste for learning was excited in its readers, there is no means of telling, but it is certain the editor failed in the essential of securing a sufficient list of paying subscribers. Mr. Foote laments, in his Christmas valedictory, that his readers must part "with the year and the Gazette together, and thus furnish one more instance of the futility of all hopes founded on the anticipated encouragement of those intellectual exertions which contribute to soften and adorn life among a people whose highest ambition would seem to be exhausted in acquiring the means of support." This long sentence, when chewed, will be found tinctured with the tempered bitterness of mild irony. After Mr. Foote abandoned it, the Gazette was revived, with Looker and Reynolds as printers, and was carried on for two-thirds of a second year, when a second death finally extinguished it.

Among the contributors to the Gazette were John H. James, Charles Neave, Ethan A. Brown (afterward governor of Ohio), David G. Burnet, 1789–1870 (president of Texas), Mrs. Julia Dumont, Mrs. Mary Austin Holley,[1] wife of Dr. Horace Holley, president of Transylvania University, Miss W. Schenk, of Franklin, J. G. Drake, and Dr. John D. Godman.

The prevailing character of the Literary Gazette, readers of to-day would call heavy and dry. "It is our aim in this paper to be useful rather than original," wrote the editor. Yet the severely useful features of the paper were relieved by much original matter designed to be sprightly and entertaining without lapsing into frivolity. The fun is invariably serious and the serious writing never funny.

The Gazette flourished in the palmy days of Transylvania University and the Cincinnati College, and the professors in these and other academical institutions contributed much useful information to its columns. Professor C. S. Rafinesque, of Transylvania, who had written

[1] Mrs. M. A. Holly was the author of a "History of Texas," 1833, and of a memoir of her husband.

many articles of a scientific kind for Hunt's Review, wrote still more for the Gazette, furnishing a series of learned papers on the "Ancient History of North America," and another series on "Systematic Botany." Prof. John Locke, the respected head of Locke's Female Academy, contributed several unreadably dry discussions on botany and on mechanics. Prof. Locke was a pioneer in scientific teaching and investigation. He was born in Maine in 1792, and died in Cincinnati, in 1856. Prof. T. J. Matthews, father of Justice Stanley Matthews, projected a mathematical department, and there was printed from his pen a lecture on Symmes's Theory. In those days the usual place for lectures in Cincinnati was the Western Museum. Mons. J. Dorfeuille, the proprietor, was himself a cyclopedia of popular knowledge, and he gave didactic addresses on languages, books, birds, and I know not what besides. In the Gazette for November 7, 1824, it is advertised that "This evening Mr. Dorfeuille will lecture (for the second time and by particular request) on 'The Pleasures and Uses Arising from the Study of Natural History and the Fine Arts,' and conclude with an address to the ladies."

The Gazette gave a summary of general news and brief notices of books and writers, native and foreign. It sympathized with the "cause of the Greeks," and with all struggles for popular liberty. The coming of La Fayette was heralded in its pages with pæans of praise.

Benjamin Drake contributed to the Gazette a series of sketches under the general caption, "From the Portfolio of a Young Backwoodsman." Several of these sketches were reprinted in the author's first volume, "Tales of the Queen City." The western verse-makers sent reams of rhyme to Mr. Foote, and he printed quires of it. The most prolific and also the cleverest of our local poets was Thomas Peirce, author of the "Muse of Hesperia" and "Horace in Cincinnati." Peirce was wonderfully versatile. In addition to his rollicking original pieces in many meters, he made creditable versions from the French and Spanish. Some of his liveliest lyrics in the Gazette are

subscribed "Charlie Ramble." He contributed to the Gazette a series of narrative and descriptive cantos, in the style of Byron's Don Juan, giving a lively and amusing account of his personal adventures during a river voyage to New Orleans and a sea voyage thence to Boston.

The poet, Fitz-Greene Halleck, contributed to Mr. Foote's paper at least three poems, "Memory," "To Good Humor," and "The Tempest," which are all to be found in the author's published works. Halleck, when a very young man, used to visit at the house of Foote's father at Nut-plains Farm, near Guilford, Connecticut, and here it was that his literary tendencies were encouraged.

Mr. John P. Foote himself is described as bearing a striking personal resemblance to John Quincy Adams. He was an active man of affairs, with a taste for literature. Long after the demise of the Gazette, he produced two valuable books, "The Schools of Cincinnati and its Vicinity" and "A Memoir of Samuel Edmund Foote."

FLINT'S WESTERN MONTHLY REVIEW.[1]

It is stated incorrectly in "Allibone's Dictionary," "Duyckinck's American Literature," and similar works, that Timothy Flint began the publication of The Western Magazine and Review in 1834. The fact is that the first number of this pioneer literary journal was issued in May, 1827. The "Geography and History of the Mississippi Valley" appeared in the autumn of the same year in two large volumes from the press of E. & H. Flint. This useful work rapidly passed through numerous large editions. Many passages from "Flint's Recollections" are incorporated in it. The peculiar criticism was made on this book that it was too interesting to be useful! The reader searching for geographical or historical facts in its pages was carried away from his object by its absorbing narrative or brilliant description.

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[1] See Chap. XI.

The Western Review was published only three years, or until June, 1830. The editor was the principal contributor, though James Hall, E. D. Mansfield, Micah F. Flint, and some others sent occasional articles. The magazine had the motto, "*Benedicire haud Maledicere.*" The subjoined extracts from the "Editor's Address," in the first number, are not without piquancy and local color:

"We are a scribbling and forth-putting people. Little as they have dreamed of the fact in the Atlantic country, we have our thousand orators and poets. We have not a solitary journal expressly constituted to be the echo of public literary opinion. The teeming mind wastes its sweetness on the desert air. . . . Now we are of the number who are so simple as to believe that amidst the freshness of our unspoiled nature, beneath the shade of the huge sycamores of the Miami, or cooling the forehead in the breeze of the beautiful Ohio, and under the canopy of our Italian sky, other circumstances being equal, a man might write as well as in the dark dens of a city. . . . Our literary creed is included in one word, *simplicity.* Our school is the contemplation of nature. . . . Reviewers who imagine that nothing good can be written beyond a circle of three and a half miles in diameter, of which circle they are the center, may have, as must certainly be conceded to Boston reviewers, a good deal of mechanical cleverness in manufacturing sentences and rounding periods."

The Review contained only original articles, not a few of which were long and dreary, on the "Philosophy of Education," "Political Economy," "An American University," "The Trinitarian Controversy," "Temperance," and the like. One can not help thinking, as he turns the leaves of this sixty years old exponent of western letters, that the good editor felt it incumbent on him to show more than usual gravity, dignity, and learning. It seems as though he might have said to himself, as he trimmed his goose-quill: "We will demonstrate to those carping

eastern critics that our Review is a review indeed, solid and solemn enough for the most exacting scholar. We will prove to the world that the west is by no means frivolous, and that we ourself, though for relaxation we may dash off a novel now and then, are capable of much heavier things, and we do not forget we are a collegian and a clergyman."

To natives of the Ohio Valley, the Western Review contains much that is of local and historical interest. Flint was loyal to his adopted region, and gave prominence to western topics. Every book or periodical published this side of the Alleghenies received attention in his monthly pages. All public addresses, orations, sermons, and debates were duly announced and generously commented on. The great discussion between Robert Owen and Alexander Campbell, which Flint attended, was made the subject of several editorial articles.

The Review was a magazine of fifty-six octavo pages; price three dollars a year. It was issued from the press of W. M. Farnsworth, Cincinnati, Ohio.

HALL'S WESTERN MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

Hall's Illinois Magazine, 1830, and Western Monthly Magazine, 1832, are important repositories of western history and literature. A detailed account of them is given in the chapter relating the life of Judge Hall, which see.

THE WESTERN MESSENGER.

The Western Messenger, a magazine devoted to religion and literature, and published by the Western Unitarian Association, was started in Cincinnati, June, 1835. The first volume comprised twelve monthly numbers; the seven succeeding volumes included six numbers each, a volume every half year. The last issue appeared April, 1841. The magazine was edited until March, 1836, by Rev. Ephraim Peabody, an amiable young man of fine poetical ability, who was born in New Hampshire in 1807. Mr. Peabody was taken ill and was obliged to go south. The

management of the periodical devolved upon the Rev. James Freeman Clarke,[1] and the place of publication was changed to Louisville, Kentucky, where Mr. Clarke was stationed as minister to a Unitarian Society. In 1840 Mr. Clarke returned to Boston, where he soon after founded the Free Church, of which he was the pastor until his death in 1888. The Messenger was removed to Cincinnati, and was edited by Rev. W. H. Channing, who was ordained pastor of the Unitarian Church of that city May 10, 1839. Channing was assisted by his cousin, Rev. James H. Perkins, who indeed was a contributor to the Messenger from the start, and whose best literary work was published in it.

The Western Messenger was, of course, denominational, and derived support from eastern Unitarians, who took an active interest in planting their ideas in the west. Its subscription list was never large, and its pecuniary struggles were constant. Few complete copies of the work are to be had, and I am told that sets are very costly. Mr. U. P. James, the veteran publisher and dealer in old and rare books, remembered sorting out a "great pile" of the Western Messenger, which Mr. Perkins brought to the store on Walnut street, about the year 1845.

The Western Messenger was essentially an eastern messenger—the organ of New England liberalism in the Valley of the Ohio. Devoted to religion and literature, it was even more literary than religious, and both its theology and its literature were tinctured with transcendentalism. No other periodical that has appeared in the Ohio Valley is richer than it in original and suggestive contributions, and I doubt if any other contains so much fine and delicate writing.

The first editor, Mr. Peabody, and his enthusiastic friend, Mr. Perkins, were imbued with the idea of "en-

[1] James Freeman Clarke, D.D., was born in New Hampshire, April 4, 1810. Graduated at Harvard in 1829, and at Cambridge Divinity School in 1833. Resided at Louisville 1833–1840. Founded Church of Disciples, Boston, 1841. Author of "Life of General Wm. Hull," 1848; "Eleven Weeks in Europe," 1851; "Christian Doctrine of Forgiveness;" "Ten Great Religions," etc.

couraging" and developing the literary spirit of what was then "the west." They invited to their columns the aid of William D. Gallagher, Otway Curry, Thomas H. Shreve, and other western writers. "It ought to be one object of a western journal to encourage western literature," wrote the editor. In accordance with this principle, the magazine made prominent a series of carefully prepared articles on "Western Poetry." These articles gave conspicuous reviews of the literary productions of William D. Gallagher, F. W. Thomas, Lewis F. Thomas, C. D. Drake, J. G. Drake, Albert Pike, John B. Dillon,[1] and Thomas Shreve. Readers of to-day will smile or sigh to read the critical opinion that "Mr. Shreve has a Bulwerian control over language and a Byronic grandeur of imagination and gloom of thought."

A leading western contributor to the Messenger was Mann Butler, who furnished a number of valuable sketches on the "Manners and Habits of the Western Pioneers."

After James Freeman Clarke took hold of the magazine, the editorial tone was changed, and a new set of contributors began to write. Among the regular correspondents were Rev. George W. Hosmer, who, coming from Northfield, Massachusetts, organized a church in Rochester, and Rev. William G. Eliot, who established his famous society in St. Louis.

In response to a letter of inquiry concerning the Western Messenger, Dr. Clarke kindly sent the following:

"JAMAICA PLAINS, MASS., *Feb.* 19, 1886.

"DEAR MR. VENABLE:—If I were not laboring under an indisposition, I should like to write you at length about

[1] John Brown Dillon was born in Virginia in 1805. He removed to Ohio, and became a printer in Cincinnati; began to write for the Gazette in 1826; went to Logansport, Indiana, and studied law; afterward he removed to Indianapolis, where he was appointed state librarian; held other public positions; wrote much in verse and prose. Among his works are "Historical Notes," "History of Indiana," "Oddities of Federal Legislation." Died in 1879.

the Western Messenger and its contributors. It was rather a vivacious affair, ranging from grave to gay, from lively to serious. We were the first to publish any of Emerson's poetry. We had a contribution from Dr. Channing and a poem from John Keats not before printed, and one which Wendell Holmes sent to me.

" . . . The Messenger was a wandering star. First published in Cincinnati, it came to Louisville, where Eph. Peabody became an invalid, and went back again because the facilities were better in Cincinnati than in Louisville. While in the latter, I was not only editor, but also publisher, and even went about once in Kentucky to get subscribers. I found I could import paper to print it on from Boston, *via* New Orleans, at less cost than I could buy in Louisville, and did so. When the number was ready for distribution, I recollect that Cranch or Osgood, or whoever happened to be with me, and I would fold, direct, and carry the copies to the post-office. Sam Osgood and I were carrying the basketful to the post-office one evening, when we met a stout negro, and offered him a "quarter" to take it for us. He lifted the basket and put it down again, saying: "Too heavy, massa!" So we took it ourselves.

"When you see Mr. Gallagher, give him my kind regards. He and Edward Cranch are the only survivors of the Messenger group that I know of now in Cincinnati. I have the original subscription book, and of the Cincinnati names—Foote, Donaldson, Lawler, Yardy, Urner, Hastings, Sampson, Jos. Longworth, Timothy Walker, Evart, Shoenberger, Thomas Bakewell, Ryland, etc.—I fancy all are gone.

"I am glad you propose to do justice to the forgotten magazine, which, in its day, was, I think, a rather respectable effort for the young people who wrote in it. Yours,

"JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE."

The poem by John Keats, referred to in the above, is the "Ode to Apollo," beginning:

"God of the golden bow,
And of the golden lyre,
And of the golden hair,
And of the golden fire;
Charioteer
Of the patient year;
Where, where slept thine ire,
When like a blank idiot I put on thy wreath.
Thy laurel, thy glory,
The light of thy story;
Or was I a worm, too low-crawling for death?
O Delphic Apollo!"

The original manuscript of this ode was presented to the editor by George Keats, a brother of the poet, who lived in Louisville, and a sketch of whose life was written by James Freeman Clarke. In the Messenger were also printed extracts from a journal kept by John Keats in England and Scotland, in 1818. Introducing these extracts to his readers, the editor notes it as strange "to meet with the original papers of Keats at the Falls of the Ohio."

In October, 1836, there appeared in the Messenger a long letter written from Boston, in June of the same year, by the distinguished Dr. William E. Channing. This letter, I believe, does not appear in Dr. Channing's collected works, although some passages of it are finished in his best literary style. Readers of to-day will find food for reflection in what so eminent an observer thought of Boston some fifty years ago:

"Shall I say a word of evil of this good city of Boston? Among all its virtues, it does not abound in a tolerant spirit. The yoke of opinion is a heavy one, often crushing individuality of judgment and action. No city in the world is governed so little by a police and so much by mutual inspection and what is called public sentiment. We stand more in awe of one another than most people. Opinion is less individual, or runs more into masses, and often rules with a rod of iron."

Interesting also to dwellers in the Central States will it be to read the great preacher's views regarding the then West. The letter says:

"All our accounts of the West make me desire to visit it. I desire to see nature under new aspects; but still more to see a new form of society. I hear of the defects of the West; but I learn that a man there feels himself to be a man, and that he has a self-respect which is not always found in older communities; that he speaks his mind freely; that he acts from more generous impulses and less selfish calculations. These are good tidings. I rejoice that the intercourse between the East and the West is increasing. Both will profit. The West may learn from us the love of order, the arts which adorn and cheer life, the institutions of education and religion which lie at the foundation of our greatness, and may give us in return the energies and virtues which belong to and distinguish a fresher state of society.

"You press me to come and preach in your part of the country. I should do it cheerfully if I could. It would rejoice me to bear testimony, however feeble, to great truths in your new settlements. I confess, however, that my education would unfit me for great usefulness among you. I fear the habits, rules and criticisms under which I have grown up and almost grown old have not left me the freedom and courage which are needed in the style of address best suited to the Western people. I have fought against these chains. I have labored to be a free man, but in the state of the ministry and of society here, freedom is a hard acquisition. I hope the rising generation will gain it more easily and abundantly than their fathers."

The young men who uttered their opinions in the Western Messenger availed themselves of the intellectual freedom which "a new form of society" afforded. They said their say more boldly than New England encouraged them to do. The iron rod of public sentiment was not so threatening in Louisville and Cincinnati as in Boston. Thinkers, such as Samuel Osgood and C. P. Cranch, began their literary career in this Western periodical. Cranch was for a time Clark's assistant in Louisville.

Clarke was an enthusiastic student of German literature

and philosophy, and he translated for the Messenger De Wette's "Theodore, or the Skeptic's Progress to Belief," afterward reprinted in George Ripley's "Specimens" of German literature. There was a department of "Orphic Sayings," from Gœthe; and one or two of Gœthe's stories were printed. Rev. Charles T. Brooks contributed many translations from Krummacher, Herder, Uhland and other German poets. J. S. Dwight also wrote original poems and translations of both prose and verse for the Messenger. Dwight won a permanent place in literature by producing the well-known verses beginning:

> "Life is not quitting
> The busy career;
> Life is the fitting
> Of self to its sphere."

It is not strange that the editor of the Messenger, saturated as he was with German literature and transcendental philosophy, should be one of the first to admire Carlyle, and among the first to discover the rising genius of Emerson. When Emerson's "Nature" appeared in 1836, Osgood reviewed it in the Messenger. He said: "There are some things in this book that we do not understand;" but he discovered in the luminous pages a "wonderful dawn." Commenting on Emerson's oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society in 1837, C. P. Cranch wrote: "It is full of beauties, full of original thought. Every sentence indicates the man of genius, the bold, deep thinker, the original writer."

It is a fact noteworthy in the history of letters that Emerson first appeared in print, as poet, on the banks of the Ohio. He contributed to the Western Messenger, *gratis*, the poems: "Each and All," "The Humble-bee," "Good-bye, Proud World," and "The Rhodora." These are among his best metrical pieces. "Good-bye, Proud World," is perhaps his most popular lyric, though the author did not esteem it highly. It came out in April, 1839, but is subscribed "Canterbury Road, 1823." On comparing these verses as they were printed originally, with the

later copies as they stand in the author's volumes, one discovers many curious verbal changes. In some cases considerable addition has been made to the first version, and in other cases passages have been left out. The alterations are invariably obvious improvements. For instance, the expression, "Vulgar feet have never trod," is happily substituted for "Evil men have ever trod." The first line of the quaint and beautiful poem on "The Humble-bee,"

"Burly, dozing humble-bee,"

originally read:

"Fine humble-bee! fine humble-bee!"

In the letter from Mr. Clarke, allusion is made to a poem sent to the Western Messenger by Oliver Wendell Holmes. The poem was that entitled "The Parting Word," which admirers of the "Autocrat" will recall from the first line:

"I must leave thee, lady sweet."

Another literary star, not of the first magnitude, yet of a clear and lasting luster, that rose from the East to shine in Clarke's Western galaxy, was the religious poet, Jones Very. This eccentric character, in March, 1839, sent the following letter from Boston to Louisville:

"Rev. J. F. Clarke, editor Western Messenger:

"Hearing of your want of matter for your Messenger, I was moved to send you the above sonnets that they may help those in affliction, for Christ's name is ever the prayer of me, his disciple, called to be a witness of his sufferings and an expectant of his glory. If you ask for more—as I have them—so will they be communicated, freely. Amen.

"The hope of Jesus be with you when you are called to be a partaker of his temptations.

"Jones Very."

The letter was accompanied by twenty-seven sonnets, which were published, as were many other of Very's poems, from time to time, in the Messenger. Nearly all of these are included in the edition of Very's poems issued a few years ago.

Clarke was an appreciator of Hawthorne's early work. He reprinted "Footsteps on the Sea-shore" from the first edition of "Twice Told Tales," and wrote an editorial comment: "Since the days of Elia we have seen nothing to compare with it. It has all of Washington Irving's delightful manner with a profounder meaning and a higher strain of sentiment."

Among the contributors to the Messenger were two women who afterward became well known in letters—Miss Elizabeth P. Peabody and the more celebrated Margaret Fuller. The latter sent her friend Clarke a number of articles, reviews on "George Crabbe and Hannah More," on "Bulwer," on "Letters from Palmyra," and a paper on "Philip Van Arteveld." Her contributions were signed S. M. F.—Sarah Margaret Fuller.

When Clarke left Louisville for Boston, the Western Messenger office was removed to Cincinnati, and Rev. W. H. Channing became editor, assisted by Rev. James H. Perkins. The magazine grew more than ever devoted to German translations and to transcendental, poetic theology. The many articles furnished by Perkins were filled with earnest, practical fact and thought, and possess a high value.

In June, 1840, the editor wrote: "Our friend, Mr. Bronson Alcott, of Boston, has kindly given us his prose poem, 'Psyche, or the Growth of the Soul.'" But "Psyche" never unfolded her silvery wings before the readers of the Western Messenger.

The magazine vanished in a sort of rosy mist in budding April, 1841. There was a conditional promise on the last page of the last number that the publication of it might be resumed in July; but the promise failed. The periodical was an exotic—a Boston flower blooming in the Ohio Valley.

The Western Magazine was a harbinger of the famous Boston Dial, which made its first appearance in July, 1840. It is a very interesting and notable fact that at least ten of the contributors to the Messenger were also among the writers for the Dial. These were Emerson, Fuller, Clarke, E. P. Peabody, Dwight, Brooks, F. H. Hedge, W. H. Channing, Cranch, and Very. Miss Peabody was the first publisher of the Dial, and Margaret Fuller and Emerson were its editors. Of the ten, all were born between the years 1803 and 1813, and four, Cranch, Dwight, Brooks, and Very, were born in 1813. I can not better close this sketch than by quoting from the final volume and number of the Western Messenger this word of praise and prophecy:

"We have not said a word of the Dial, for we are slow to praise our own family, and the writers of the periodical are our dear friends. Therefore, one word only, readers—believe not the geese who have hissed their loudest at this newcomer. Such foolish creatures can not save the capitol. The Dial marks an era in American literature. It is the wind-flower of a new spring in the western world. For profound thought, a pure tone of personal and social morality, wise criticism and fresh beauty, the Dial has never been equaled in America."

W. D. GALLAGHER'S "HESPERIAN."

No other man has done so much for the cause of western periodical literature as William D. Gallagher.[1] He was connected editorially with numerous magazines and newspapers, including The Western Minerva, The Cincinnati Mirror, The Western Literary Journal, the Cincinnati Gazette, the Louisville Courier, the Ohio State Journal. But his most important literary venture was the Hesperian. He has given us the history of the publication in the following words:

"In the winter of 1837–38 Mr. Gallagher projected at

[1] Mr. Gallagher's literary services to the West are given in detail in the biographical sketch, Chapter XV.

Columbus, Ohio, where he was then residing, a work of larger size and more diversified character than any he had yet attempted in the West, or, so far as the writer knows, in the United States. This was the Hesperian, which appeared in May following, W. D. Gallagher and Otway Curry, editors; John D. Nichols, publisher; Charles Scott and John M. Gallagher, printers; ninety-four pages super-royal octavo, double column; five dollars per year subscription. This work was so exclusively one of the writers own projecting; it was made to bend so entirely to his ideas of what such a periodical should be; his own pen furnished such a large proportion of its entire contents; his reputation was so intimately connected with it; his fame and fortune so staked upon its success, and his humiliation at its failure so deep and abiding, that he feels he is not the proper one to write its history. He is proud to say that no similar work was ever received in the United States with more decided marks of favor. Its characterizing feature was one of *usefulness*; its numerous articles on the early history of the state, on its agricultural resources, on its manufacturing industry, on its commercial channels, on its mineral treasures, on its literary and humane institutions, on its geology, flora, etc., were appreciated by a circle of readers of which any periodical might boast. The best talent of the West was engaged contributing to its pages, and on its subscription books the names of the educated and intelligent were most liberally written. But notwithstanding all this, through the grossest remissness and most culpable mismanagement on the part of its publisher, the publication of the work was suspended at the close of the third volume—eighteen months from its commencement. Over the causes of this suspension the writer, then alone in the editorship, had no control, and he was in no manner pecuniarily responsible for the injustice done by it to that portion of the subscribers who had paid for the full second year. He declined subsequent propositions from the publisher to recommence the work, in the first place, because his confidence in the

integrity of that individual had been shaken, and in the next, because the propositions were accompanied by conditions which would have made it necessary materially to modify the plan of the publication, which would have left him without an adequate support. In this manner, what was at first in reality only a *suspension* of the work became a discontinuance of it. His long and bitter regret at this mortifying termination of a venture on which he had staked so much, it is useless to speak of, as it can be measured by the feelings of no one who has not been circumstanced similarly with himself."

MOORE'S WESTERN LADY'S BOOK.

Half a century ago "gentlemen's magazines" and "ladies' books" were in demand and the supply was forthcoming. One of the oldest American lady's books is the familiar "Godey," now in its sixtieth year.

I have come across No. 1, Vol. I, of a Western Lady's Book, printed in August, 1840, by H. P. Brooks, Walnut street, Cincinnati. It is a thin pamphlet of twenty-eight pages, edited by an "Association of Ladies and Gentlemen," and bears the motto, "The Stability of Our Republic, and the Virtue of her Institutions is with the Ladies." It does not appear that the patriotism and other virtues of the "ladies and gentlemen who projected the Western Lady's Book" were equal to the task of preserving its stability; at least I have never seen a second number of the publication, nor met any one who ever did see a second number.

The leading article in No. 1, Vol. I, of the Western Lady's Book is by P. Sturtevant, and is entitled "The Heroine of Saratoga: a Tale of the Revolution," and it tells us how Emeline Wharton, for love of Henry Elverton, disguised herself as a soldier, saved her country and married her lover. Another story by "Jane," and having the cheerful caption, "The Village Graveyard," relates the languishing loves of Charles Anson and Caroline Lee, and how, soon after they were wedded, they breathed their last and were nicely buried in the same grave.

A periodical of much vitality was Moore's Western Lady's Book, edited by A. and Mrs. H. G. Moore, Cincinnati, and devoted to literature, biography, science and general miscellany. I have not been able to procure a complete set of the quite numerous volumes of this publication, which was issued somewhat irregularly through a period of eight or ten years. It was started, I believe, in 1850, with the name "Western Magazine," but the publishers and editors announced, early in 1854, that "having received such liberal patronage from the ladies of our country to the Western Magazine, they have concluded to change the name and make it more exclusively a 'Lady's Book.'" The magazine was made "more exclusively a Lady's Book," by introducing two new features—fashion plates and music. Ladies of to-day, who gaze with delight upon the monthly array of illustrations in Demorest, the Bazaar, or the Delineator, would laugh at the pictures in the Lady's Book.

Much of the contents of Moore's Lady's Book is selected matter, yet a good many of the Western writers favored its pages with original pieces. Honorable Horace P. Biddle,[1] of Indiana, T. H. Burgess, Harriet N. Babb, P. F. Reed, R. E. H. Levering, Osgood Mussey, and Alf Burnet wrote for it. The issue for January, 1855, con-

[1] Horace P. Biddle, LL.D., Ph. D., was born March 24, 1811, in a log cabin near Logan, O. He was the son of one of the original Marietta settlers, and a protegé of Thomas Ewing. He studied law with Hocking Hunter, of Lancaster, O. Began the practice of his profession in Ohio, but settled at Logansport, Ind., in 1839. Was elected Judge of the Circuit Court in 1846, and called to the Supreme bench in 1857. Presided as Supreme Judge for twenty-five years. Judge Biddle is living and occupies a fine old mansion on "Biddle's Island," on the Wabash, at Logansport. He has by far the largest private library in Indiana—a collection of over 7,000 standard books and bound newspapers, filling ten or twelve rooms. Biddle began his literary career in 1842 by writing for the Southern Literary Messenger. In 1850 he published his first volume, "A Few Poems." A second volume of his poems appeared in 1868 from the press of Hurd & Houghton. Other works by him are "The Musical Scale," a scientific treatise, 1850; "Glances at the World," 1873; "Elements of Knowledge," and "Prose Miscellany," 1881; and "Last Poems," 1882.

tains a biographical sketch of Alf Burnet from the pen of Coates Kinney. The best of the poetry contributed to the Lady's Book is that of F. B. Plimpton, whose "Mariners of Life," "Poesie," "Mount Gilbo," and "The Oak" appeared originally in this periodical.

Several continued stories were written for the Lady's Book—one a prize tale, "The Twin Sisters," by Mattie Lichan; another, "Elizabeth, or the Broken Vow," by Edward Clifton; and a third, and by far the best of the three, "The Prophecy, or the Recluse of the Maumee," by U. D. Thomas.

Decidedly more interesting than these fictions are two illustrated articles by William T. Coggeshall. The first of these, published in March, 1854, describes a visit to Niagara falls, and opens with this paragraph:

"I was fortunate in the associations of my first visit to Niagara falls. I went with Kossuth and suite, and I found there Godfrey Frankenstein and his brother George, the artists who had been studying and painting the cataract, the rapids, the rocks, the river and the whirlpool, for several years, in order that they might be able to represent them on canvas, and take Niagara to those people who could not go to it."

The second article by Coggeshall is called a "Trip to New York," and was printed in January, 1855. A local interest belongs to this, because it is illustrated by twelve wood-cuts by R. J. Telfer, representing views on the Little Miami Railroad. One of these is a picture of Jamestown, now Dayton, Kentucky.

The descriptive text says:

"On the right, and near two miles from the depot, you will see a handsome town on the Kentucky shore. This is Jamestown. It was laid out only three or four years since, and is now, as you see, a considerable village. In a few years the Kentucky shore, like the Ohio, will be lined with a continuous town. The three towns of Covington, Newport and Jamestown, now contain about twenty thousand inhabitants. Three-fourths of this is the growth of the last ten years."

Among the objects shown by pictures are the Cincinnati water-works, Jamestown, the Columbia burying-ground, Milford, Miami railroad bridge, Deerfield station, and Morrow's mill.[1]

Mr. Coggeshall discoursed on Gov. Morrow as follows:

"Just before you come to Foster's Crossings, you will notice on the left hand of the cars as you come from Cincinnati, on the west bank of the river, a large mill and plain frame house. This was the residence of one of the real statesmen of our country—Governor Morrow. He entered public life in 1802, and remained in the public service half a century, in which time he never lost the public confidence nor ever failed in any part of his duty. He was a member of the state convention to form the first constitution, was twelve years a member of the house of representatives in congress, and most of the time the only representative of Ohio. He was six years in the United States senate, four years governor and several years, toward the close of his life, president of the Little Miami Railroad Company. The Duke of Weimer, after visiting him in 1825, described him as a faithful copy of ancient Cincinnatus. "He was engaged, on our arrrival, in cutting a wagon pole, but immediately stopped his work to give us a hearty welcome."

To return from this excursion up the Miami to our "Lady's Book," we find, in the issue of March, 1854, and subsequent numbers, a feature worth noting. Mrs. E. A. Aldrich, having suspended the publication of a women's right's paper, the Genius of Liberty, made an arrangement with the proprietors of the Lady's Book, to continue the advocacy of her views by occupying eight or ten pages of the magazine, every month, with such articles as she or her sister reformers might choose to write. "Individual sovereignty," declared Mrs. Aldrich, "is our star. This is our deepest foundation. It is the motto on all

[1] The mill is still standing, a picturesque relic. Two pictures of it, painted by Gustave Frankenstein about the year 1855, may be seen in Springfield, Ohio.

our banners. It is the vitality of this movement. Personal independence is the all in all. It is our center and circumference—the soul and body of our efforts." To the department headed "Genius of Liberty," there were several contributors, viz., Melissa M. Taylor, M. E. Wilson, M. A. Bronson and Mary S. Legare. The most exciting passage in their discussions is entitled, "Women's Intellectual Inferiority or Horace Mann *vs.* Physiology," a stricture on the president of Antioch College, who, it seems, had accepted the theory that woman's mental powers are not equal to man's, because her brain is lighter than his.

The student of the history of western literature will find in Moore's Western Lady's Book a series of a dozen or more sketches on the "Poets and Poetry of the West." He will, perhaps, be surprised to read long biographical reviews of poets and *poetesses* whose names he never heard. M. D. Conway said in a review of Coggeshall's "Poets and Poetry of the West:" "Some filtration is necessary for all our western streams before they are drinkable. About half a dozen of these poets should have been omitted accidentally." The Lady's Book includes several names among its poets that Coggeshall *did* omit.

THE PARLOR MAGAZINE.

In July, 1853, appeared the first number of the Parlor Magazine, conducted by Jethro Jackson, 180 Walnut street, Cincinnati. It was handsomely printed on sixty-four large, double-columned pages, and illustrated with steel-plates and wood-cuts. Some of the fashion plates were printed in colors.

The Parlor Magazine thundered a good deal in the index. The prospectus contains quite an ethical treatise. "In the high moral tone and scrupulous purity of sentiment, the truthfulness and intelligence which will pervade our pages," wrote Mr. Jackson, "we hope our most serious readers will find qualities to propitiate and secure their careful scrutiny and permanent approbation. It will be our aim to blend valuable information and sound

morality with the gratification of a literary and imaginative taste. Phases of history, illustrations of local interest, vivid portraitures of virtuous life and occasional disquisitions and reviews, embellished here and there with glittering gems of poetry, will, we trust, give value to our pages." This studied announcement of intention to instruct and improve the public drew a certain patronage, but was not as attractive to people in general as Mr. Jackson hoped it would be. His plan was to make such a magazine as he judged the people ought to read, rather than one which they would like to read. The maxim of Sleary, the circus manager, in Dickens' novel, that "People mutht be amuthed," holds true of magazine readers. In his anxiety to keep every thing frivolous out of his publication, the conductor put in it too much that was dull. Yet, on the whole, the contents of the Parlor Magazine were attractive, and became more so as the months passed by and Mr. Jackson gave up a prejudice against romances.

The following is a partial list of contributors to the Parlor Magazine: Rev. S. D. Burchard, Dr. J. R. Howard, Thomas H. Shreve, W. S. Gaffney, Virginius Hutchen, Mrs. Helen Truesdell, S. W. Irwin, Rev. Edward Thomson, Harriet E. Benedict, Mary Clemmer,[1] Anne Chambers Bradford, M. Louisa Chitwood, Roley McPherson, Horace Rubley, J. H. Bone, D. F. Quinby, William T. Coggeshall, Mary E. Hewett, Kate Harrington, G. W. L. Bickley, W. W. Dawson, M. D., William Baxter, F. H. Risley, Miss M. E. Wilson, Thomas H. Chivers, J. H. Baker and Peter Fishe Reed.

At the end of six months Messrs. Applegate & Company, 43 Main street, became the publishers of the magazine, Jackson continuing the general management, assisted by Alice Cary. The first semi-annual volume, from July to December, 1853, was issued as an independent work, under the title of "Family Treasury."

The accession of Alice Cary to the editorial control of

[1] Afterward Mary Clemmer Ames, the biographer of the Cary sisters.

the periodical gave new life to its pages. She took a more cheerful view of the duties of an editor than Mr. Jackson had taken. But it is evident from her first editorial that she was not sanguine as to the success of the magazine, nor over-confident of her own powers of pleasing. There is a sprightly wit and a keen common sense about her salutatory that warrant me in quoting some sentences from it. She says: "As we seat ourself at the editorial table of the Parlor Magazine, an anecdote, which we have read somewhere, occurs to us:

"A French surgeon, who was in the habit of boasting of the performance of some very difficult operation, having treated no less than sixteen patients, was asked how many of them he had saved. 'Oh,' replied the Frenchman with *naivete*, 'they all died—but I assure you the experiments were very brilliant!'

"Our magazine is not greatly below the sixteenth one that has struggled for existence in Cincinnati, and if it should fail, why we shall congratulate ourselves with the reflection that it was at least a brilliant experiment. . . . Some years ago the editor of a small paper in the interior of Ohio announced in his salutatory that he had that day commenced 'the wielding of the tripod,' and, lest we should fall into a similar blunder, we will cut short our introductory, simply referring the reader to what we present, rather than to showy promises, for it is surely true that a bird in the hand, even if it be a common sort of bird, is worth two in the bush."

Alice Cary contributed to the Parlor Magazine a story written in her best vein, entitled "The Actress." She also contributed a number of short poems, remarkable for their naturalness, pathos, and melody. One of these, doubtless the sincere expression of feelings she had recently experienced in New York City, is called "Homesick"—

> Oh! shall I ever be going
> Back any more?
> Back where the green woods are blowing
> Close by the door!

Back where the mowers are binding
  Pinks with their sheaves—
Where homeward the cattle are winding
  Together of eves?

The fresh-smelling earth at the planting—
  The blue-bird and bee,
The gold-headed wheat fields aslanting
  How pleasant to me!

I'm sick of the envy and hating
  All effort brings on—
I'm sick of the working and waiting,
  And long to be gone.

Gone where the tops of red clover
  With dew hang so low,
And where all the meadow-side over
  The buttercups grow.

I'm weary—I'm sick of the measures
  Each day that I track—
Of all which the many call pleasures,
  And long to be back.

Back where the ivy-vines cover
  The low cabin wall,
And where the sweet smile of my lover
  Is better than all.

Oh! shall I ever be going
  Back any more—
Back where the green woods are blowing
  Close by the door?

The genius of Alice Cary did not bring financial prosperity to the Parlor Magazine. She soon retired from the editorial chair to return to New York, and Mr. W. F. Lyons took her place. Mr. George W. L. Bickley, who had been publishing the West American Review, transferred his subscription list to that of the Parlor Magazine, and in 1855 he became a partner in the concern. The merged magazines formed one, with the new name, The West American Monthly, which did not survive to greet the year 1856.

LUCIUS A. HINE'S PERIODICALS.

The literary magazines of the west have usually been private enterprises, undertaken by enthusiastic young men bent on carrying out ideals rather than making money. Only youth and enthusiasm have the strength and the rashness to venture on reforming the world without capital and by means of printer's ink and a publication.

Something near fifty years ago, a handsome, stalwart, all-hopeful student, fresh from Norwalk Academy, Ohio, came to Cincinnati and took the regular course in the law school, then under the direction of Timothy Walker. This young gentleman was Mr. L. A. Hine, oldest son of Sheldon Hine, a thriving farmer who came from the good old Orthodox county of Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1818, and settled at Berlin, Erie county, Ohio, where he prospered. L. A. Hine was born at Berlin, February 22, 1819.

Though trained to conservative views and habits, both in theology and economics, Hine departed from the counsel of his family, having been indoctrinated with the radicalism of Horace Greeley, Robert Owen, and other agitators. He did not enter upon the practice of law, but, actuated by hopes of literary success, he started the Western Literary Journal and Monthly Magazine, the first number of which came out in November, 1844. In this venture he was associated with E. Z. C. Judson ("Ned Buntline")—an ill-assorted partnership. Hine was to furnish one thousand dollars and Judson five hundred dollars; but it turned out that Hine furnished more than one thousand five hundred dollars and Judson nothing. Both were very young men—Hine only twenty-five and his partner twenty-one. By and by they took into the firm a third ambitious young fellow from Tennessee—Hudson A. Kidd. Judson was nominally editor, he having already achieved some reputation as a writer for the Knickerbocker Magazine, and as editor of Ned Buntline's Own, a story paper which he had started at Paducah, Kentucky. Unfortunately for himself and for his associates, Judson

got into a quarrel at Nashville, Tennessee, which led to a passage at arms, in which he killed a man who had shot at him. Judson was captured by a mob and almost hanged, was glad to escape with his life and fly to Pittsburg. In consequence of this affair, the literary magazine was discontinued after six numbers had been issued, Hine paying the debts.

The contents of this unfortunate Journal and Review are varied and entertaining. Almost all the leading writers of the West contributed to its columns. The post of honor in the first number was occupied by William D. Gallagher, who furnished a long historical article on "Periodical Literature." The same veteran, who, however, was then no veteran, but a dashing young man but thirty-six years old, gave to the public, through the Journal, a number of his best poems, such as "Truth and Freedom." Mrs. Julia L. Dumont, that Hannah More of the West, contributed column after column of moral sketch and story to encourage the magazine; Mrs. R. S. Nichols, Mrs. Anna Peyer Dinneis, Miss E. A. Evans, Mrs. S. M. Judson, Mrs. Lee Hentz, and Miss E. A. Dupay were constant writers for it.

It must not be thought that the *bas bleus* monopolized the pages of our young men's magazine. Many male writers, grave and gay, kept the post-bags enriched with their offerings. Productions were printed from T. H. Shreve, Albert Pike, J. Ross Browne, J. B. Russell, Charles Cist, J. L. Cist, Prof. Cross, J. B. Hickey, B. St. James Fry, Hiram Kaine, Otway Curry, L. C. Draper, Colonel Charles Whittlesey, J. R. Eakin, E. P. Norton, F. Colton, C. B. Gillespie, W. B. Fairchild, J. C. Zachos, D. L. Brown, H. A. Kidd, Anson Nelson, H. B. Hirst, James W. Ward, H. C. Beeler, G. T. Stuart, J. J. Martin, W. H. Hopkins, John Tomlin, A. S. Mitchell, Dr. T. M. Tweed, Emerson Bennett, and Donn Piatt. The gentleman named last wrote on the subject of "Old Bachelors," and under the pseudonym "John Smith." The novelist, W. Gilmore Simms, contributed a poem, "The Grave of the

Bard." Emerson Bennett's contribution was a languishing sonnet to his "ladye love."

Many of the names just given will be recognized as holding a worthy place on the scroll of literary distinction.

Albert Pike[1] was well known and highly popular, not only in the West, but throughout the country, on account of his successful efforts as poet, law reporter, and editor in Arkansas and Tennessee. His poems, an "Ode to the Mocking Bird," "Ariel," "Hymns to the Gods," were regarded as products of genius. Pike was born at Boston in 1809. He seems to have struck up a jolly acquaintanceship with "Ned Buntline," to whom he addressed a poetical letter, which was published in the Journal. It opens thus:

> Dear Ned, your craft I see's at length afloat,
> A tight, sea-worthy, staunch, and well-manned boat.

Mr. L. C. Draper, named in the list, is Dr. Lyman C. Draper, of the Wisconsin Historical Society, whose collections of Western biographical and historical material are invaluable. Draper was born near Buffalo, New York, in 1815. Much of his work has been done in co-operation

[1] General Pike died in Washington City, April 2, 1891, in the eighty-second year of his age. He was Grand Commander of the Scottish Rite Masonry of the Southern Jurisdiction and Chief of the Royal Order of Scotland for this country. He was born in Boston in 1809. He was author, editor, lawyer, and soldier. He edited the Arkansas *Advocate* and the Memphis *Appeal*. It was stated in the New York Times that he had the largest and most costly library in the South. His "Hymns of the Gods" was published in 1839. Besides this he wrote three other volumes of poems. His writings on Masonry are considered the highest authority. In 1874, he published a book on Philology. General Pike removed to Washington in 1868. Since the year 1875, he translated about twenty volumes from Sanskrit into English. A Washington correspondent of the Chicago News, writing of these, says: "They are not printed, but are in manuscript, every word being written by General Pike, and in all of the thousands of pages, there is not a scratched word or an erasure. If General Pike had given the same time and erudition to the world of literature, instead of to the secret order of which he was the head, his name would, undoubtedly, have been classed with the Ruskins, Emersons, and Carlyles."

with Benson Lossing. Dr. Draper is deservedly distinguished as the editor of the ten volumes of Wisconsin Historical Collections, and the author of "King's Mountain and its Heroes," and other historical works. He contributed to Hine's publication an article on "General George Rogers Clarke."

Colonel Charles Whittlesey's important donations to the Journal include articles on "Indian History," "John Fitch," and "The Northern Lakes."

Judson, besides numerous editorials, furnished characteristic sketches in true "Ned Buntline" style—"The Last of the Buccaneers," "The Lost Chief of the Uchees," and reminiscential "Sketches of the Florida War."

Benjamin St. James Fry, born 1824, now a Doctor of Divinity, and the editor of the "Central Christian Advocate," St. Louis, was very active in literary matters in the Ohio Valley. He edited in Cincinnati a periodical called the "Rambler," and was connected with Hall's Magazine. He became president of "Worthington College." To his pen we are indebted for the biographies of several prominent Methodist clergymen.

John Celevergoz Zachos,[1] an occasional contributor to Hine's periodical, is a Greek, born at Constantinople in 1820. Coming to America, he graduated from Kenyon College, Ohio; studied medicine in Miami University, Ohio; became associate principal of Cooper Female College, Dayton, Ohio; and afterward professor in Antioch College under Horace Mann. In 1852, he edited the Ohio School Journal. He is the author of several school books. For some years he was a Unitarian preacher. Since 1871, he has been curator of Cooper Institute, New York City.

L. A. Hine, by nature earnest and by reflection serious, felt an inward call to serve humanity by effecting social and educational reforms, especially by some great land reform, to bring about such happy conditions as Henry

[1] For some years teacher of mathematics in Rev. Dr. Colton's school, Cincinnati.

George looks forward to. Hine busied his pen in the elucidation of his chosen themes. He wrote articles entitled "Distinctions," "Standard of Respectability," "Teaching a Profession," "Union of Mental and Physical Labor," and "One Dollar." Occasionally he invoked the lyric muse, who inspired him with strains of a contemplative and melancholy tone. The young man was loaded with a burden no less than the old, sad world with its immemorial woes.

The Literary Journal went to wreck in April, 1845. In the following January, Hine put forth, at his own venture, as editor and publisher, the initial number of

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL AND REVIEW.

This was published through the year 1846, and then merged in the Herald of Truth. In his Quarterly, he gave fuller scope to his opinion on political and social economy. His reviews took the form of radical discussion under such captions as "Association," "The Spirit of Democracy," "Obligations of Wealth," "Progression," "The Land Question," "Our Social, Political and Educational System." One of his earliest out-and-out radical utterances was a review of E. P. Hurlbut's "Essays on Human Rights," published by Greeley in 1845. When Hine's father (prudent and sagacious money-maker that he was) saw this article, he dryly remarked, "Lucius will make nothing by writing in that way." Nevertheless Lucius did make—enemies.

The Quarterly was not wholly given up to radical discussion. David Dale Owen contributed several scientific papers on "Geology." The editor continued also, as in his previous publication, to give prominence to literary topics, and to solicit contributions from purely literary writers. Albert Pike, Emerson Bennett, George F. Marshall, Alice Cary, Mrs. C. A. Chamberlain, Mrs. R. S. Nichols and Mrs. Sophia H. Oliver wrote poems for the Quarterly. A piece contributed by Mrs. Oliver entitled, "I Mark the Hours that Shine," went the rounds of the press and was printed in school-readers.

George S. Weaver, of Dayton, Ohio, who became a celebrated Universalist preacher and writer, began his literary practice in this Quarterly.

THE HERALD OF TRUTH.

"The Herald of Truth, a monthly periodical devoted to the interests of Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Science and Art," a magazine of eighty pages, the organ of a brotherhood of social and religious radicals who had a community on the Ohio river, was started in January, 1847, and was continued nineteen months, when the "Brotherhood" failed. L. A. Hine was employed to edit the periodical, but no effort was made by the society to push it, the leader believing it would work its own way. The Herald partook somewhat of the character of its predecessor, the Quarterly, though it contained greater variety and was superior in literary style and mechanical "make-up." The devotees of the "Philosophy of Universal Harmony" used its free pages as a vehicle for conveying their theories to the public. The editor resumed his efforts to set forth the facts, figures, and arguments to demonstrate the necessity of land reform. He made an exhaustive historical survey of the "Roman Land Laws" and of the "Hebrew Land System." Articles were published on various phases of socialism, on St. Simon and Fourier, and on Swedenborg. A long discourse on the history of "Labor," from the pen of Robert Dale Owen, found an acceptable place in the Herald.

Many of the men and women who wrote for the Literary Journal and the Quarterly were personal friends of Mr. Hine and continued to favor him with their assistance. Among them were Alice and Phoebe Cary and Emerson Bennett. Several new contributors made the Herald of Truth their medium of communication with the "gentle reader." Among the contributors of prose I name John O. Wattles, Dr. Diver, John Patterson, I. P. Cornell, John White, Thos. L. Boucher, Maria L. Varney, and Milton J. Sanders. Warner M. Bateman, now a prominent Cincinnati lawyer, made one of his earliest lit-

erary efforts in preparing for the Herald an article entitled "Education—Freedom," written from Springboro, Ohio."

The poetical contributors, besides those already mentioned, were Mrs. Sarah T. Bolton, Mrs. Frances D. Gage, Mrs. Sarah J. Howe and Coates Kinney.

THE WESTERN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

In 1849 Mr. J. S. Hitchcock, who once kept a news room in the old post-office building in Cleveland, Ohio, and who was an able solicitor for journals, started in Cincinnati another Quarterly Review, expecting to pay expenses and more by canvassing for subscribers. Mr. Hine agreed to do the editorial work, which he did *gratis* until the proprietor mysteriously disappeared in Chicago, where he had gone on a soliciting tour. Whether Hitchcock was killed, or whether he died among strangers who gave no information of him, is unknown to this day. Whatever may have been his fate, it is certain that the Quarterly failed. Two numbers only were issued, of about two hundred pages each. The first was illustrated with a steel engraving of the poet, William D. Gallagher; and the second, with a portrait of John Locke. The volume contains, in all, twenty-eight articles, in prose and verse, the titles of the most important being: "The Youth of Christ," "The Land Question," "Ethology," "American Eloquence," "Neurology," "Powers's Greek Slave," "The Free-Soil Movement," "William D. Gallagher," "The Revolution of 1698 and Macaulay's History," "Decline of the Church," "The Republic," "Education and Crime," "Mission of Democracy," and "Ohio: Her Resources and Prospects."

In Hine's Quarterly of 1849, the literary element is entirely subordinated to the controversial, though the work contains a few poems and a story with a purpose, called "A Philosophical Sketch," composed by the editor. Indeed, the battle of opinions had thickened around Hine, and henceforth he gave himself to his favorite "cause." He had drawn the fire of many conservative journalists,

who hated his radicalism on general principles. We find him, in 1850, editing the Daily Nonpareil, a paper conducted on the co-operative plan by a company of printers. On ceasing to write for the Nonpareil, he commenced traveling as a lecturer on reforms, especially the land reform and educational topics. His magnificent personal appearance, his fine voice, and eloquent, poetic style of delivery, make him a very impressive orator. He is the author of numerous pamphlets on political and social economy, and of several radical stories, "The Unbalanced," "Patty Parker," "Currie Cummings," "The Money Changer," etc. In 1869 Mr. Hine published three numbers of a reform journal called Hine's Quarterly, or the Revolutionist, having for its motto the words "*Taurus cornibus captus.*"

Mr. Hine now resides near Loveland, Ohio, living a recluse life, but still actively engaged in study and literary composition.

THE LADIES' REPOSITORY.

By far the longest lived, most extensive, and most expensive literary periodical ever published west of the Allegheny mountains was the Ladies' Repository and Gatherings of the West, a monthly which was started nine years before the first number of Harper's was issued. It was almost the only western magazine that had the good fortune to be sustained by any considerable capital and patronized from the start by a considerable class of readers. The periodical was owned and managed by the Methodist Book Concern, and naturally received the sympathy and support of the great denomination which, in a special way, it represented. It was conducted in a liberal spirit, according to a policy that extended a tolerant hand to all, and it was hospitable to the ideas of any writer who expressed himself with moral propriety and a fair degree of literary skill.

The Ladies' Repository contains thirty-six annual volumes, published in the years 1841–1876. Each of the first

fourteen volumes has 380 pages, and the succeeding volumes each comprise 760 pages. The Repository was discontinued after 1876, but, in its stead, the Book Concern published a still larger periodical, the National Repository, which was kept up four years, 1877–1880. The life of the two magazines—they may be regarded as one and the same—covered forty years of the most interesting period of the history of the Ohio Valley.

The Ladies' Repository was started in consequence of a memorial suggesting the desirability of such a publication, addressed to the M. E. Conference, at Cincinnati, in September, 1839, by Mr. Samuel Williams, of Mt. Auburn, the father of Professor Samuel W. Williams, now in the Methodist Book Concern, and of John Fletcher Williams, librarian of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.

Samuel Williams was one of the early pioneers. He was a gentleman of literary tendencies, and he contributed to the Repository, under the name of "Plebius," a series of reminiscential papers called "Leaves from an Autobiography," giving experiences in Pennsylvania and West Virginia from 1790 to 1850.

As the name would indicate, the Ladies' Repository was designed, originally, to furnish reading particularly acceptable to women, or to the family circle. Hence, for the first year or two, its columns abounded with advices and admonitions, somewhat solemn and heavy, to the female sex. Caleb Atwater, the pioneer historian of Ohio, contributed an article on "Female Education." An address by Samuel Galloway, A.M., to the pupils at Oakland Female Seminary, at Hillsborough, Ohio, on "Female Character and Education," was published. There also appeared in print a discourse to a Young Ladies' Lyceum, by Honorable Bellamy Storer, the distinguished jurist and statesman. As one glances over the introductory volumes of the long series of Repositories, and observes how immeasurably and unceasingly the misses, maids, and matrons were belectured and relegated to their "sphere," one feels sorry retrospectively. That was before the day of Kansas voting and Vassar College. Yet, it must be said

to the credit and honor of the early editors of the Repository, that they opened their columns freely to female writers, and that, as time went on, the women had their full "say," to the exclusion, we trust, of some masculine severities on female education, which might have been printed.

The first editor of the Ladies' Repository was Rev. L. L. Hamline, A. M., afterward bishop, who held the managing pen for nearly five years. As was expected, the leading preachers of the Methodist Church in the West, and many of the presidents and professors in Western colleges, wrote for the magazine, which was expressly devoted to "Literature and Religion." A majority of the most prominent denominational ministers and educators contributed to the useful work. Numerous writers not of the Methodist persuasion also proffered their aid, which was accepted, always with thanks, and often with pay in cash. The subscription list rapidly increased, and in its palmiest days, the Repository enrolled thirty thousand subscribers, and had three or four times that many readers. Every number was illustrated with one or more fine steel engravings. The subjects chosen for illustration in the early years of the periodical were local scenes and objects, drawn from nature by Western artists. The first number presented "Views on the Ohio." Other of these pictures made in the forties were "A Railroad Scene," "View on the Miami Canal," and very beautiful sketches of the "Big Miami River" and "Indiana Knobs."

Among those who wrote for the Repository in its first decade, when the Book Concern was managed by Rev. J. F. Wright and Rev. L. Swormstedt, were many who had already risen to distinction and more who afterward achieved honored names for worthy public service in religion, education, literature, legislation or law. This magazine was the seed-bed in which were germinated and nurtured hundreds of intellectual growths that in time bore fragrant blossoms and good fruits in the West, or were transplated to bloom and bear in other parts of the

world. The list of contributors is a very long one; I will select from it a few leading names:

Prof. F. Merrick, of the Ohio Wesleyan University, wrote for the Repository on zoology. Rev. M. P. Gaddis, as early as 1841, contributed a "Scene in a School Room," and afterward he sent other pieces. Rev. J. L. Tomlinson, president of Augusta College; Bishop Morris, D.D.; Prof. W. G. Williams, of Woodward College; Rev. Joseph F. Tuttle, of Wabash College; Rev. D. D. Whedon, D.D., president of Michigan University; Rev. W. P. Strickland, Prof. Waterman, Rev. B. W. Chidlaw, Rev. L. D. McCabe, Prof. E. C. Merrick, Rev. A. M. Lorraine, Rev. S. McClure, Rev. W. C. Hoyt, Rev. J. R. Wilson, Rev. R. Sapp, Rev. T. Harrison, G. P. Disoway, Rev. R. W. Allen, Rev. J. B. Durbin, D.D., and Prof. E. W. Merrill, all shone in the galaxy of contributors between the years 1840 and 1850.

Dr. Hamline was succeeded in the editorial chair by the Rev. E. Thompson, who, on being elected president of the Ohio Wesleyan Univerity in 1845, gave place to Rev. B. F. Teeft. Teeft was followed in 1845 by Prof. W. C. Larrabee, who acted as editor for five months, until January, 1853, at which time Dr. Davis W. Clark, afterward Bishop Clark, took the responsible position. All of these had been generous contributors to the Repository before they were selected to edit it, and, of course, as editor, each in turn wrote much for its columns.

Dr. Thompson had been the much loved and respected head of a famous academy at Norwalk, Ohio. His scholarship and literary ability were very great, and few men have done more to advance civilization by individual effort than he. Prof. Larrabee was a distinguished teacher in Asbury University (now De Pauw), Indiana.

Dr. B. F. Teeft wrote much and well on various subjects. He was of a literary turn, and he gave to the Repository a more decided literary character than it had before his editorial connection with it. Through its pages he gave to the public a historical and philosophic story relating to the time of Louis the Thirteenth of France

and entitled "The Shoulder-knot." This was published in a separate volume by the Harpers, in 1850.

In 1840 and 1841, Rev. D. P. Kidder, who, in 1839, had made a visit to Brazil, furnished the Repository with a series of "Sketches of Travel."

Colonel John McDonald, of Poplar Ridge, Ohio, author of McDonald's "Sketches of the Pioneers," contributed an account of "Logan, the Mingo Chief," whom he had seen. Another pioneer, illustrious in politics, the Honorable Joshua R. Giddings, contributed in November, 1844, his personal recollections of the "Skirmishes on the Lake Peninsula in 1812." In June, 1846, the Rev. James B. Finley published in the Repository the first of several papers giving reminiscences of his early life. Finley came West with his father, down the Ohio river to Kentucky, in 1788, and his narrative is extremely interesting.

Mrs. Julia L. Dumont, who resided in Vevay, Indiana, from 1814 to the year of her death, 1857, wrote for the Repository "Sketches from Life," "Our Village," and other things. Her style is sometimes tedious and prolix, but her stories have the supreme merit of dealing with realities, and the strata of dull paragraphs are veined with the gold of good writing. Here is a specimen of her descriptive composition, valuable for its picturesque vividness, and for the true glimpse it gives of the customs of pioneer days along the Ohio river: "We are watching the boats that are descending the stream—we have no eye for objects of mere visual interest. Here is one at hand that has been heralded by some half dozen 'outriders'—a store boat! laden with fancy merchandise—an exciting array of red and green and yellow, now quiet for the hearts of the demoiselles, both of our town and the backwoods. Why, look! the stirring rumor has been out upon the wings of the wind. They are already hurrying, in not silent groups, down to the bank—the young, the fair, the guileless-hearted. Beshrew the heart that would scorn their simple vanity. May every little purse (and well we ken they were light enough) prove sufficient for the favorite want, for hardly have its contents been earned, and

carefully have they been treasured, doubtless for such destination."

An enormous quantity of very poor poetry lies entombed under the covers of the Ladies' Repository. To compensate for this rubbish, there is excellent poetry to be found, here and there, scattered through these forty volumes.

Mrs. Sarah J. Howe, a verse writer of considerable power, wrote her best pieces for the Repository. She achieved a good reputation on the merit of a poem, "Bolesdas II., or the Siege of Kiow." In 1849 she contributed to the Herald of Truth a scene from another original drama, of which the hero is an Indian chief. Mrs. Howe lived in Newport, Kentucky. Her poems were never published in a collected form.

Otway Curry, who in his lifetime divided with W. D. Gallagher the laurels of local fame, won his literary honors by means of the Repository. He was a constant and valued contributor to its pages; and when he died his life was written lovingly by Edward Thomson and by Wm. D. Gallagher.

Alice Cary began to write for the Repository in 1847. Her genius was soon recognized, and she was employed as a regular contributor of poetry and prose. She published about a hundred short stories and sketches, many of which were reprinted in her volumes called "Clovernook."

Poems were contributed to the Repository by Mrs. Helen Truesdell, Mrs. A. L. Ruter Dufour, Mrs. L. H. Sigourney (who also contributed stories), Mrs. S. T. Bolton, Mrs. R. S. Nichols, Miss M. Louise Chitwood, Virginia F. Townsend, Hannah F. Gould and Phœbe Cary. The much admired, much ridiculed, Mr. Martin Farquhar Tupper, was a personal friend of Doctor Teeft, to whom he sent occasional letters and poems. The following note from him was written from Furze Hill, Brighton, England, and is dated September 28, 1848:

"My Dear Sir: I hope you will long ago have received my letter, and that a response from you may be on its

road. By the way of stirring up your mind to remembrance, I send you the inclosed ballad, which I have just written, and which tells its own tale. I send it to you, my friend, as a newly forged link of love between our nations. Send any tidings likely to be of interest. Salute all unseen friends, and believe me, as ever,

"Truly yours, MARTIN F. TUPPER."

The ballad inclosed is named, "Ye Thirty Noble Nations," and addresses the states of the Union in terms of general praise, tempered by a mild denunciation of slavery. The Repository published perhaps a dozen strings of verse from Mr. Tupper, who usually added to his name the letters "D. C. L., F. R. S." In September, 1848, appeared a "National Anthem for Liberia" and a monitory rhymed address "To America," beginning:

"Young Hercules thus traveling in might,
Boy-Plato, filling all the West with light,
Thou new Themistocles of enterprise:
Go on and prosper—Acolyte of fate!
And, precious child, dear Ephraim—turn those eyes—
For thee, thy mother's yearning heart doth wait."

Turning the leaf illuminated by the verse of Tupper, we find on other pages of the Repository names familiar to the eye and ear, but which we do not associate with the idea of verse-making. Yet here they are prefixed or suffixed to effusions in measure and rhyme! M. B. Hagans, now a grave and dignified judge in Cincinnati, sent to the Repository, forty years ago, a little poem on "Memory." And here, in volume ten, is the "Emigrant's Lay," by Ben. Pitman, since the author of many phonographic books. And on another page not far from the "Emigrant's Lay," we read "The Christian's Fear," a hymn by the scholarly O. J. Wilson. We are not surprised, after these discoveries, to find attached to a bit of blank verse, written in 1847, the name of Alfred Holbrook, the widely known president of the National Normal University, Lebanon, Ohio. In volume sixteen the curious reader comes upon "Autumn Musings," a sentimental lyric

by Rev. J. H. Vincent, now bishop, the far-famed leader of the "Chautauqua Movement." Another volume brings to light a poem by Rev. Edward Eggleston, whose writings are now known wherever English is read.

After tracing the literary beginning of so many noted men to a fountain of verse, one is prepared to read Prof. William G. Williams's article, in volume thirteen of the Repository, in answer to the question, "What is Poetry?" Or, the reader may turn to a critical and suggestive essay by Coates Kinney, on "Poetry and Poets." Kinney's own muse very well answers the query, "What is Poetry?" for she enabled him to produce many genuine poems, a few of which were printed in this same Ladies' Repository, for which he began to write, as a paid contributor, in 1855. The titles of his principal articles are, "Clyde Sutven's Story," "Duty Here and Glory There," "Soma and Psyche," "Elocution," "Impressibility," "Pronunciation," and "The Future of the English Language."

A very able and eminent contributor to the earlier volumes was Rev. A. Stevens, who became the historian of the Methodist Church. His articles include "Sketches of New England Life," "Klopstock," "Meta Klopstock," and "Horæ Sylvestræ"—a series of beautiful essays.

Mr. Erwin House, for many years assistant editor, wrote numerous articles for the magazine. He prepared many of the book notices.

Another writer, admired for his exact, varied, and thorough learning, and for his lucid and charming style, is Prof. S. W. Williams, who began to write for the Repository in 1857, and who gave it much valuable aid for a number of years. His first article is entitled "The Mythical Character of William Tell."

In 1850 L. A. Hine, the reformer, published in the Repository a long and able article on the "Idea of Virtue." The paper gives the ethical views of many philosophers, ancient and modern, and reaches the conclusion that "love is virtue," and that we "vainly seek reform on any other basis than that of intellectual and religious improvement."

M. D. Conway, who began his public career as a Methodist preacher, wrote critical studies on "Gray's Elegy," on "Ebenezer Elliott, the Corn-Law Rhymer," and "Ralph Waldo Emerson," for the Repository in 1850.

Other literary people who wrote for the Repository between 1850 and 1860, were Isaac H. Julian,[1] J. W. Roberts, George W. Hoss, Rev. J. W. Wiley, Rev. Robert Allyn, Hon. Horace P. Biddle, Dr. Cornelius G. Comegys, Horatio N. Powers, Rev. E. O. Haven, D.D., O. J. Victor, Metta V. Fuller, W. W. Fosdick, William T. Coggeshall, and Mrs. Donn Piatt, author of "Belle Smith Abroad;" Peter Fishe Reed, Rachel Bodley, late president of the Woman's Medical College, Philadelphia; Virginia F. Townsend, editor of Arthur's Home Magazine and author of a dozen or more volumes; and Charles Nordhoff, the Prussian, who wrote "Man-of-War Life," "Nine Years a Sailor," and other popular works.

When Dr. Clark became editor of the Repository, 1853, the work was enlarged to double its original size, and several new features were added. Almost every number contained a finely engraved portrait of some favorite American female writer, accompanied by a lengthy sketch of her life and works. A few of the women thus honored were L. H. Sigourney, Sarah Josepha Hale, Elizabeth Stewart Phelps, Alice Cary, Amelia B. Welby, Emily C. Judson,

[1] Isaac H. Julian, now conducting a literary agency in San Marcos, Texas, has done much for the cause of general culture, as editor and otherwise. He writes under date of March 13, 1891: "Since my happy release from the newspaper tread-mill, I am devoting most of my time to those literary pursuits and recreations which were the delight of my youth." Julian was born in Wayne county, Indiana, June 19, 1823. He was a contributor to the National Era, the Ladies' Repository, the Genius of the West, and other periodicals. From 1846 to 1850 he resided in Iowa. Returning to Indiana he became editor of the "True Republican," at Centerville. He has since edited several newspapers. In 1873 he removed to Texas. He published in 1857 a brief "History of the Whitewater Valley." A volume of his poems is now in preparation. Mr. Julian possesses a rare and valuable collection of western books and manuscripts.

and Harriet Beecher Stowe. The picture of Mrs. Stowe represents her as almost ideally beautiful.

Portraits of many eminent preachers were also engraved for the Repository; and other illustrations—landscapes, fancy groups, reproductions of historical and classical paintings—appeared from month to month. It is said that the sum spent on pictures far exceeded the amount paid for all other matter in the magazine, and that contributors dropped off and the literary character of the Repository declined as the department of illustrations became prominent. Be that as it may, it is certain that the managers of the periodical concluded not to attempt to compete with the general illustrated literary magazines, such as "Harpers'," and decided to give a more specially religious and denominational direction to their work. After 1860 the Repository gradually lost its hold as a representative western literary journal, though it retained great vitality and continued to be a strong, intellectual, and moral force, not only within the church, but in the community at large.

I may record, as a point of historical interest, that for many years the editorial offices and binderies of the Methodist Book Concern were located in the old St. Clair mansion, at the corner of Main and Eighth streets, Cincinnati. I remember calling on Dr. Clark, in 1861, at the editorial room of the Repository, on which occasion he said, "Do you know that we are now sitting in the library of General Arthur St. Clair?"

The Evening Times of May 19, 1879, contains a historical sketch of the St. Clair house, to which, unfortunately, no name is affixed, but which was evidently prepared with care and accuracy. The writer says:

"Doubtless the foundation was laid in the summer of 1800, and the house followed closely the type that had ruled for years before in the East. It was the model to the West, the first dwelling of any pretensions, the first house of brick built in the Miami country. The very bricks were brought from Pittsburg in keel-boats. A large piece of freestone that forms the door-step came in the

same way, and was the wonder of the folks at the time. The building was a marvel and a matter of pride. Yet, in 1822, John I. Jones bought the house and lot at tax sale for twenty-five dollars. Then it was owned by the United States Bank, and in 1835, Crafts J. Wright deeded the property to Salmon P. Chase for $8,064. Chase deeded it back to Wright & Swan, agents for the Methodist Book Concern, for $11,200. The Book Concern made editor's offices of the bed-chambers and binderies of the parlors. It was at one time divided by a wood partition into two dwelling-houses, and finally it has become the litter place of a manufactory. St. Clair's home deserves a better fate than to perish, when so much life might be its lot. The walls are as sound as they were nearly a century ago. With us this building is the beginning, the ancient temple, the first step out of the wildnerness. St. Clair left no family of wealth to cover his faults and lift up his virtues. His name has been covered in the local history by the fame of those less worthy in many respects, and clouded by a disaster in his early history which some future historian will sweep away. Then General St. Clair and all he left here will assume a new value."

THE GENIUS OF THE WEST.

The Genius of the West, a monthly magazine of Western literature, was projected, and for a time conducted, by Howard Durham, a young Jerseyman, who came from his native state, in 1847, to the village of Mount Healthy, near Cincinnati. Durham was a shoemaker by trade, but, disregarding the proverb, "Stick to thy last," he forsook his humbler bench for a seat on the editor's tripod, and began his literary fortune by publishing a neat paper, The Western Literary Gem, which was presently united with another paper, the Temperance Musician. The last-named sheet was edited by Rev. A. D. Fillmore, author of a series of singing-books which followed the system of angular or "Buckwheat" notes once in vogue. Durham also joined John W. Henley in getting up a "moral and literary monthly for the young," which was christened "The Lit-

tle Traveler," a name afterward changed to "The Little Forester," by Durham, who bought his partner out.

The initial number of the Genius, printed in the rooms of the Phonetic Advocate, by Elias Longley[1] and Brothers, 169½ Walnut street, is dated October, 1853. After issuing several numbers, Mr. Durham took into partnership with him Coates Kinney, a poet already famous on account of the popularity of his "Rain on the Roof."[2] Kinney had just re-

[1] Elias Longley was born at Oxford, Ohio, in August, 1823, while his father was still a student in Oxford College. His father moved to Lebanon, Ohio, in 1832, and thence to Cincinnati in 1840. Here the boy was educated in the public schools and Woodward College, and then studied for the Universalist ministry, but he soon gave up the ministry for a newspaper life. In 1848, he learned Phonography, and in 1850, began the publication of a monthly magazine of thirty-two pages, entitled "The Phonetic Magazine." This paper was continued two years, then it became a semi-monthly, and later was enlarged to a weekly newspaper. Its publication was suspended in 1861. During the ten years previous to the war, Elias Longley, in connection with his brothers, compiled and published an American Manual of Phonography, and a primer, first and second readers in phonetic spelling, which obtained extensive sales all over the United States. From 1861 to 1884, he was engaged in daily newspaper reporting on the Commercial and the Daily Gazette, doing all of the short-hand speech reporting and much of the interviewing. Beginning with the speech of Lincoln, on the old Burnet House steps, before the election, he reported the addresses of Johnson, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, and many other distinguished statesmen. He was sent to report the re-hoisting of the flag at Fort Sumter, where he took down the speeches of Beecher and Wm. Lloyd Garrison. He was the first short-hand reporter of Cincinnati, where he was for two years official court reporter. He was also, for a time, official reporter of the Ohio legislature. Mr. Longley is now residing in South Passadena, California.

[2] "Rain on the Roof," unquestionably the most popular poem ever written in the Ohio Valley, an exquisite lyric that has been everybody's favorite, now for over forty years, has a very interesting history. The poem was written in the summer of 1849, while the author was visiting his father's family at Spring Valley, Greene county, Ohio. Colonel Kinney says, in a letter to the writer: "I slept one night next the roof, in the little frame cottage which our folks lived in, and which has since been torn away and replaced. In the evening there came up a gentle rain, which pattered on the shingle roof, two or three feet above my head, all the part of the night during which I was awake. Here I lay and conceived the lyric, and then went to sleep. It haunted me the next day, which was bright, and green, and glorious; and, on a

signed his professorship of languages and *belles lettres* in Judson College, Mt. Palatine, Illinois, and, on his return to Ohio, he became the leading editor of the new magazine.

Some business difficulty having arisen between Durham and Kinney, the latter bought the concern, taking as company Wm. T. Coggeshall, and Durham retired. The following curt valedictory appeared in the Genius of August, 1854:

"For numerous reasons, more interesting to myself than to the public, I have withdrawn from the Genius of the West and Forester, leaving my partners 'monarchs of all they survey.' HOWARD DURHAM."

In January, 1855, Durham issued the first number of a rival magazine, which he named "The New Western, the original Genius of the West." The enterprising young editor was overtaken by financial troubles, added to which he suffered a bereavement in the death of a child. He was obliged to abandon the "New Western," and not long after he was attacked by cholera, of which he died September 14, 1855, at the early age of twenty-seven.

By the terms of his partnership with Kinney, William Turner Coggeshall became the chief owner of the Genius of the West. Born at Lewistown, Pennsylvania, September 6, 1824, Coggeshall came to Akron, Ohio, in early

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walk from Spring Valley down to Mt. Holly—three miles—where I went to visit my uncle's folks, I composed most of the poem, finishing it the same afternoon during a sequestration of myself and a ramble in the woods just adjoining the town—woods now long since cleared away. It was the easiest production I ever wrote. It cost me no labor. . . . I sent it to the Great West, which was then edited by the novelist of Indians, Emerson Bennett. I was personally acquainted with Bennett, and he knew me as a writer, for I had contributed to a little literary paper of his. It was so long before the poem appeared that I had given it up as unaccepted. But finally it did appear, September 22, 1849. . . . I learned later, from E. Penrose Jones, who was publisher of the Great West, that the poem escaped oblivion through an accidental discovery of his. He was looking through Bennett's rejected manuscript drawer, and found it. Bennett had thought it not quite up to the standard of Indian-novelist literature, and had tossed it into that drawer."

manhood, and embarked in the publication of a temperance paper, bearing the peculiar caption, The Roarer. At Akron he was married, October 26, 1845, to Mary Maria Carpenter. Mr. Coggeshall removed to Cincinnati in 1847, and became reporter for the Times, under the management of "Pap" Taylor. In 1849 he worked on the Gazette with Wm. D. Gallagher. He traveled, in 1851–2, with General Louis Kossuth, reporting that eloquent Hungarian's speeches for both western and eastern papers. In the fall of 1852 he established a little paper called the Commercial Advertiser, but soon gave it up, and went into the office of the Daily Columbian as assistant editor. Having resigned his position on the Columbian, he took charge of the Genius, saying in brief salutatory: "All I have and all I am are invested in the enterprise this magazine announces."

Coates Kinney's connection with the Genius of the West was severed June, 1855, when he wrote a "goodbyographical" and retired, leaving Coggeshall sole proprietor. Early in 1856 Coggeshall was appointed state librarian by Governor Chase, and the Genius was disposed of to Mr. George True, who conducted it until July, 1856, when it was discontinued, five complete volumes having been issued. Three thousand copies of the Genius were the greatest number ever put forth in any single month.

Complete sets and even stray numbers of this periodical are very scarce, as, indeed, are sets and copies of most other western publications. This is accounted for, in part, by the circumstance that, during the civil war, the sanitary commission gathered and sent to the soldiers all the copies of unbound periodicals that could be procured. Every house was ransacked for reading matter, and tons of books and pamphlets were collected and shipped to Southern camps and hospitals.

The quality of a magazine is indicated by the character of its contributors. In the prospectus of the Genius of the West, the editor announced the following men and women as his pledged "assistants:" Coates Kinney, Wm. T. Coggeshall, J. H. A. Bone, Peter Fishe Reed, Clement

E. Babb, J. W. Roberts, R. E. H. Levering, J. Hunt, Jr., J. M. Walden, Comly Jessup, U. P. Ewing, T. H. Burgess, Benjamin S. Parker, Mrs. Sarah T. Bolton, Alice Cary, Frances D. Gage, Harriet E. Benedict, Carrie Myer, M. Louisa Chitwood, Miss M. E. Wilson, Mary A. Reeves, Kate Harrington, Julia M. Brown, Mary "Eulalie" Fee, Louise E. Vickroy. Coggeshall printed in his list of contributors most of the above names and these additional ones: Wm. D. Gallagher, Rev. Dr. E. Thompson, Rev. A. A. Livermore, James W. Taylor, James W. Ward, Donald Macleod, Don A. Pease, D. Carlyle McCloy, Florus B. Plimpton, Anson G. Chester, E. S. S. Rouse, Thos. Hubbard, Alfred Burnett, G. A. Stewart, General L. V. Bierce, S. S. Cox, John B. Dillon, J. B. Burrows, T. Herbert Whipple, Mrs. R. S. Nichols, Mattie Griffith, Carrie Piatt, Elvira Parker, Phœbe Cary, Harriet N. Babb, E. D. Mansfield, Dr. I. J. Allen, L. J. Cist, Osgood Mussey, Prof. J. R. Buchanan, W. W. Fosdick, O. J. Victor, W. Albert Sutliffe, S. D. Harris, Isaac H. Julian, M. Halstead, J. H. Baker, Prof. E. E. Edwards, L. A. Hine, V. M. Griswold, Sydney Dyer, T. J. Janvier, Metta Victoria Fuller, Mrs. Susan W. Jewett, Mrs. Frances S. Locke, Ida Marshall, Jane Maria Mead, Lydia Jane Pierson, Daniel Vaughn.

John Morgan Walden, born 1831, now Rev. J. M. Walden, D. D., a bishop in the M. E. Church, contributed to the Genius of the West, in its first year, a religious sketch entitled "The Orphan's Prayer; or the Superstitions of Yore," and a temperance story, "The Contrast; or the Old Still-House and its Owner in Ruins." The scene of both these little stories is the bank of the Big Miami river, and the writer delineated with much fidelity local scenery and, to some extent, local customs.

Mr. Coggeshall took an active interest in history, and solicited competent writers to send him chapters recounting the annals of the West. James W. Taylor, author of the "History of Ohio," contributed some valuable matter; John B. Dillon of Indiana, W. S. Drummond of Missouri, and Humphrey Marshall of Kentucky, all wrote special articles for the Genius. The veteran historian of Marietta,

Dr. S. P. Hildreth, contributed an excellent article on "Heroic Women of the Early Western Settlements." Mr. Coggeshall, himself an indefatigable explorer, especially in the fields of western literature and journalism, gave his readers the benefit of his researches.

Orville James Victor was one of the best writers for the Genius. He contributed a long and excellent review of "Gerald Massey, the Workingman's Poet." Victor was born in 1827, at Sandusky, Ohio, where, in 1852, he became assistant editor of the Daily Register. He was a frequent contributor to the Ladies' Repository and other periodicals. In July, 1856, he was married, in Mansfield, Ohio, to the accomplished writer, Miss Metta Victoria Fuller, and the Genius published a handsome account of the wedding, under the happy heading, "Victoria, the Victor." The couple moved to New York, and Mr. Victor became editor of the Cosmopolitan Art Journal, and engaged in various other literary work. He is the author of a four-volume "History of the Southern Rebellion," which Horace Greeley pronounced an "admirable work" and used as an authority.

Mrs. M. V. Victor, *nee* Fuller, was born in 1831. She began to write verses and stories at the age of fourteen, and at sixteen she was known to a numerous circle of admiring readers, through various pieces contributed to Willis's Home Journal, under the sentimental pseudonym of the "Singing Sibyl." In 1847 she published her first book, "The Last Days of Tul." Then appeared "Poems of Sentiment," 1851; "Fresh Leaves from the Western Woods," 1852; "The Senator's Son" and "Fashionable Dissipation," 1854. The last two were temperance novels, and thousands of copies were sold. On her removal with her husband to New York, Mrs. Victor continued her literary career, publishing, in 1857, "The Two Mormon Wives;" in 1858, "The Arctic Queen: a Poem," and, in 1860, "Mrs. Slimmon's Window." Another of her books, "The Dead Letter," is "believed to be," says J. C. Derby, its publisher, "one of the most widely circulated Ameri-

can novels—second only to 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.'" Mrs. Victor died in 1886.

Another writer of the Genius' fraternity, who, like the Victors, the Carys, and Wallace, and Whitelaw Reid and Howells, and many more, went East to better his fortunes, was James Warner Ward. Born in New Jersey in 1818, and educated at Boston High School, Ward came to Cincinnati when a very young man, and studied natural sciences under the guidance of Prof. John Locke. He was a contributor to Gallagher's Mirror and to the Hesperian. Becoming a practical botanist, he joined John A. Warder in conducting the Western Horticultural Review. A man of wide-ranging tastes and talents, he turned his attention, with success, to the composition of sacred music. Ward settled in New York city in 1859.

Peter Fishe Reed, a man of weird and delicate fancy, almost a genius, but lacking in will-power and practical qualities—a painter, poet, and romancer—wrote for the Genius of the West some impressive verses and several prose pieces of remarkable insight and subtilty. "The Still Demon: A Fable," is the name of one of his queer allegories; "The Devil's Pulpit: A Legend of Tullulah Falls," is a wild, strange story of Indian love and savage incantation. More skillfully wrought is a strange study of the conflict of pride and humility, presented in the form of a Poe-like story, called "The Wills of Arlam and Malra." But the most original and meritorious of Reed's prose contributions to the Genius is a short one, "The Triune Muse," a beautiful allegory showing the unity of poetry, painting, and music. Other contributions by Reed were three articles discussing the "Principles of Poetry," and the quaint poems, "The Poet-Zone," and "Dream-World Wonders: A Fantasia."

Reed was what is called "self-made"—that is, he was poor, and had not the benefit of schools or influential friends. He was born at South Boston in 1819. He has been, he tells us, "farmer, shoemaker, house and sign painter, editor, doctor, photographer, music teacher, and

painter of portraits and landscapes." He lived in Vermont, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Chicago, Santa Barbara, and Cedar Rapids, the last place being his home at the time of his death. His first writing was for the Weekly Columbian. In the days of the Genius of the West, he owned and tilled a farm near Vernon, Indiana. There he wrote a novel, in which the career of a self-made man was portrayed. This was never published. In 1868 he published, in Chicago, a volume, "The Voices of the Wind and Other Poems." Two years before, he brought out a very ingenious and amusing book for young people, under the title "Beyond the Snow," and he was engaged in writing a romance of a marvelous sort, which he named "The Moon City," when he died, in 1887.

William Whiteman Fosdick, a born poet, a true wit, a boon companion of artists and literary men, a courteous gentleman, loved and admired by every man, woman, and child who knew him, contributed to the Genius two poems—his stanzas, "To William Cullen Bryant," and a pretty love-story in rhyme, "The Maiden of the Mill." Fosdick was a native of the west, being born in Cincinnati in January, 1825. He died in the same city in 1862, universally lamented. No reader possessed of sensibility can read Fosdick's collected pieces, "Ariel and Other Poems," without feeling that they sparkle with the divine light. Such lyrics as "The Maize," "The Pawpaw, "The Catawba," "The Thrush," have both the body and the soul of truth, and they deserve to be cherished.

The name of Florus B. Plimpton, another western born and western bred poet of high merit, whose recent death, in April, 1886, is fresh in the public memory, occurs on the pages of the interesting magazine of which we are giving a history. Mr. Plimpton was born in Portage county, Ohio, in 1830. The energy of his comparatively short life was spent chiefly in the arduous labors of newspaper editing. Most of his poetical compositions were produced in the period of his early manhood, from about 1850 to 1860. He wrote for Knickerbocker, Moore's Western Lady's Book, the New York Tribune, any many

other periodicals. Seventy of his select poems were collected and published in a most elegant and richly illustrated volume by his wife. Plimpton contributed to the Genius of the West only two poems, "The Flight" and "Woman's Love in Woman's Eyes."

Hon. Benjamin S. Parker, whose pen and tongue have done so much to promote the cause of literature and the prosperity of writers, in Indiana, was a contributor to the Genius. Mr. Parker was born in a backwoods cabin, in Henry county, Indiana, February 10, 1833. He was educated chiefly by his mother, who read aloud to him much of the best English poetry, fiction, and history. After attending a Quaker school at Rich Square, he taught school for a while, and then went into mercantile business. Later he became a newspaper editor. In 1880, he was elected to the state legislature, on the Republican ticket. President Arthur, in 1882, appointed him United States Consul to Sherbrooke, Canada. He is now clerk of the court of Henry county, Indiana.

Mr. Parker has written in prose and verse for numerous periodicals, including the Century Magazine. He has published two books, "The Session and Other Poems," in 1871; and "The Cabin in the Clearing and Other Poems," in 1887. It is announced that he is preparing for the press a comprehensive work on the "Poets and Poetry of Indiana." A competent and enthusiastic student of western authors, he has delivered excellent lectures on "Western Literature," "Poets and Poetry," and other subjects. A recognized and much respected leader in every local movement for the advancement of "the good cause," he was one of the founders and the second president of the Western Association of Writers, an organization now in the sixth year of its flourishing existence, and embracing in its membership about a hundred writers of Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, and Kentucky.

Coates Kinney's portion of the contents of the Genius was generous in quantity and excellent in quality. Besides editorial correspondence and "littlegraphs," he contributed two or three good poems and a number of finely-

written prose articles, including "Improvisations of an Opium-Thinker," "The Poetry of Alice Cary," and "Two Scenes of the War," the last a bit of dramatic word-painting, in two vivid scenes, one of the battle of Inkerman, the other of an English cottage home and a maiden, who receives news of the death of her lover at Inkerman. This composition is admirable; its brilliant merit was recognized throughout the country, and the piece was widely copied.

It remains for me to add something further about Mr. Coggeshall. A most industrious worker, he furnished nearly half the matter of the volumes of the Genius that he edited. A practical moralizer, he wrote sketches for young men on "State Governors," on "Millard Fillmore," and "Young America." A sifter and compiler of facts, he prepared historical papers on the "Origin and Progress of Printing," "Men and Events in the West," and "Literary and Artistic Enterprises in Cincinnati." He published an essay entitled "Genius and Gumption," several short stories, and one long one called "The Counterfeiters of the Cuyahoga: a Buckeye Romance." In 1854 a collection of some of his stories was published by Redfield, New York, with the title, "Easy Warren and His Cotemporaries; Sketched for Home Circles." In 1855 he brought out a volume called "Oakshaw; or the Victims of Avarice: a Tale of Intrigue," and a lecture on "Caste and Character." In 1859 he published "A Discourse on the Social and Moral Advantages of the Cultivation of Local Literature," and in 1863, "Stories of Frontier Adventure in the South and West." While connected with the Genius he announced himself as a public lecturer, and became quite popular on the platform.

He was appointed state librarian in 1856, and held the position during the administrations of Governors Chase and Dennison. His opportunities as editor, lecturer, and librarian, facilitated the task which he had set himself of collecting materials for his most important work, "The Poets and Poetry of the West." This well-known vol-

ume was copy-righted in the year 1860, and was issued as a subscription book by Follett, Foster & Company, Columbus, Ohio. It contains six hundred and eighty-eight large pages, and is a compendium rather than a selection of western poetry, presenting biographical notices of, and poems by, more than one hundred and fifty writers. Among the biographical contributors, the following were named in the canvasser's prospectus, with place of residence and occupation: Rev. Edward Thomson, president of Ohio Wesleyan University; William D. Gallagher, Kentucky; Ben Cassedy, Louisville; Rev. T. M. Eddy, editor Northwestern Christian Advocate; W. W. Fosdick, Esq., Cincinnati; Orville J. Victor, editor Cosmopolitan Art Journal; Frances Fuller Barritt, New York city; Honorable J. W. Gordon, Indianapolis; Honorable Robert Dale Owen, United States minister at Naples; Honorable Heman Canfield, Medina, Ohio; William T. Bascom, Esq., Columbus, Ohio; Benjamin St. James Fry, president of Worthington Female College; Prof. L. D. McCabe, Ohio Wesleyan College; Lyman C. Draper, secretary of Wisconsin Historical Society; Lucius A. Hine, Loveland, Ohio; Rev. M. D. Conway, Cincinnati; Sullivan D. Harris, editor Ohio Cultivator; William Henry Smith, city editor Cincinnati Gazette; T. Herbert Whipple, Chicago; J. W. Hoyt, editor of Wisconsin Farmer; Coates Kinney, Waynesville, Ohio; J. D. Botefur, Fremont, Ohio; Thomas Gregg, editor Hamilton (Ill.) Republican; Austin T. Earle, Newport, Kentucky; Abram Brower, Esq., Cincinnati; James S. Frost, Esq., Detroit; Henry B. Carrington, Esq., Columbus, Ohio; Honorable William Lawrence, Bellefontaine, Ohio; C. E. Muse, assistant editor of Louisville Democrat.

In 1862 Coggeshall removed to Springfield, Ohio, and purchased the Springfield Republic. In 1865 he returned to Columbus, and became editor of the Ohio State Journal. At this time his health failed, from the effects of exposure while in secret service in the first year of the war, and he resigned his position as editor and accepted

the office of private secretary to Governor J. D. Cox.[1] He received, in June, 1865, a government appointment as United States minister at Quito, Ecuador, and immediately removed to South America. His broken health was not restored; he died at Quito, August 2, 1867, aged forty-two years, having accomplished a large amount of useful work, especially in the promotion of culture in the West. His "Poets and Poetry of the West" has done much to keep green the memory of our early authors, and much to give prestige to men and women who are yet living, and who, in many instances, were introduced to the public in its pages. The facts here printed concerning him were obtained from his widow, Mrs. Mary M. Coggeshall.

CONWAY'S DIAL.

"The Dial: A Monthly Magazine for Literature, Philosophy, and Religion. M. D. Conway, Editor. *Horas non numero nisi serenas.* Cincinnati. No 76 West Third Street. 1860."

Thus reads the title-page of a bound volume of one of the most original, peculiar, and audacious publications that ever issued from the press. The work is complete in twelve numbers, just filling the eventful months of the memorable year 1860, the year of Lincoln's first election, the year after John Brown's raid, and before the fall of Sumter. The opening article in the January number, entitled, "A Word to Our Readers," concludes with the following paragraph:

"The Dial stands before you, reader, a legitimation of the spirit of the age, which aspires to be free; free in thought, doubt, utterance, love, and knowledge. It is, in our minds, symbolized not so much by the sun-clock in the yard as by the floral dial of Linnæus, which recorded the advancing day by the opening of some flowers and

[1] Jacob Dolson Cox, distinguished in American history, military and civil, as general, governor, and cabinet officer, is eminent in the educational world as dean of the Cincinnati Law School and late president of the Cincinnati University. He is an authority in science and history.

the closing of others; it would report the day of God as recorded in the unfolding of higher life and thought, and the closing up of old superstitions and evils; it would be a dial measuring time by growth."

When Moncure Daniel Conway penned this paragraph he had not completed the twenty-eighth year of his very active life, though he had begun an aggressive literary career ten years before. Born in Virginia in 1832, he graduated from Dickinson College in 1849, then studied law, and in 1851 entered the ministry as a Methodist preacher. Before ascending the pulpit he had written for the Southern Literary Messenger, the Richmond Examiner and the Ladies' Repository, and had put forth a vigorous pamphlet advocating the introduction of the New England system of free schools in Virginia. He had, also, not only repudiated all sympathy with the system of slavery, but had begun a war on that institution as fierce as the pen could wage. Some time in 1852 he withdrew from the Methodist Church and went to Cambridge, where he entered the divinity school, from which he graduated a "broad-gauge" Unitarian, or, rather, an Emersonian transcendentalist. From 1854 to 1856 he was pastor of the Unitarian Society at Washington city. The reason for his leaving Washington for Cincinnati is thus given in his own language: "I was by a majority of five of the Unitarian congregation in Washington city declared to be too radical in my discourses on slavery for the critical condition of that latitude; and, therefore, I was invited to become minister of the First Congregational church in Cincinnati, Ohio." This was in 1856. Conway's thinking, writing, and preaching became more and more independent, liberal, and unpopular with evangelical denominations. He disbelieved in the supernatural elements of Christianity, and published what were regarded as flippant "Tracts for To-day" and discourses in "Defense of the Theater," and on the "Natural History of the Devil."

Such was the history and record of the young man, M. D. Conway, at the period when the Dial was conceived and born. His mind was saturated and dripping with

speculative philosophy and the thought and dream of the Concord seer. The very name of the new magazine was identical with that of the celebrated Boston "organ," conducted in 1840–5 by Margaret Fuller and R. W. Emerson, of which the western journal, as Conway confessed, aspired "to be an Avatar."

The great majority of pieces in the Dial were written by Conway, even including several bits of poetry, "Eola," "Amor Respicit Coelum," etc. He wrote a series of ten papers, a sort of didactic story in the Carlylesque style, called "Dr. Einbohrer and His Pupils," in which are discussed various problems of evolution, life and faith. Other of his articles are: "Excalibur: A Story for Anglo-American Boys," being a dramatic history of John Brown's sword; "The God with the Hammer," "The Two Servants," "Nemesis of Unitarianism," "Swedenborgian Heretic," "The Magic Duet," "The Word," "Moral Diagnosis of Disease," and "Who Discovered the Planet?" The last named was widely copied and the poet Longfellow praised it.

The Dial had a number of able contributors, several of them distinguished in letters. Among these was Rev. O. B. Frothingham, who published in the Dial a complete work running through nine numbers, entitled "The Christianity of Christ." This was the earliest published work of importance by the author.

Emerson honored his friend and admirer by sending occasional contributions in prose and verse to the Cincinnati periodical. The essay, "Domestic Life," was published October, 1860, and "The Story of West Indian Emancipation," in November. The quatrians—"Cras, Heri, Hodie," "Climacteric," "Botanist," "Forester," "Gardener," "Northman," "From Alcuin," "Nature," "Natura in Minimus," "Orator," "Poet," "Artist," were originally printed in Conway's Dial.

A number of the early poems of W. D. Howells[1] adorn

[1] Ohio people take pride in knowing that Mr. Howells was a "Buckeye boy," bred and educated in the thoughts, feelings, and customs of

the pages of the Dial. Of these I name "The Poet," "Misanthropy," and the lines beginning

> "The moonlight is full of the fragrance
> Of the blooming orchard trees."

It rests upon undeniable authority that the first printed notice of his work that Howells ever saw was a little review of the "Poems of Two Friends," published in the Dial for March, 1860. The notice says, "Mr. Howells has intellect and culture, graced by an almost Heinesque familiarity with high things; and if it were not for a certain fear of himself, we should hope that this work was but a prelude to his sonata."

Translations from Taussennel, Balzac, and other French authors were furnished the Dial by Dr. M. E. Lazarus. The longest of these was a complete translation of Balzac's "Ursula."

R. D. Mussey wrote for the Dial a striking allegorical composition on love, with the figurative title, "My Sculptured Palace Walls."

A very remarkable and, to most minds, shockingly irreverent article on "Prayer," was contributed by the late Orson S. Murray. The object of the writer was to prove that all prayer is unmitigated evil. Mr. Conway added a comment to the article, disclaiming responsibility for its sentiments and combatting them.

Orson Murray was a noted anti-slavery agitator, and opposer of the church. Whittier described him as a "man terribly in earnest, with a zeal that bordered on fanaticism, and who was none the more genial for the mob violence to which he had been subjected." He was born in Orwell, Vermont, September 23, 1806; removed to Ohio in 1844, where he published the radical paper, The Regenerator, which had been started in New York. He

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the "old" West. Born in Belmont county, Ohio, he spent his boyhood and youth in the counties of Butler, Greene, Montgomery and Franklin. Delightful reminiscences of his early life are given in his autobiographical story, "A Boy's Town."

died at his residence, near Foster's, Warren county, Ohio, June 14, 1885, aged seventy-nine. He had prepared his own funeral sermon, or "Death-bed Thoughts," which was read on the day of his burial.

An exceedingly attractive and suggestive feature of the Dial was a department called "The Catholic Chapter," a monthly collection of religious and moral aphorisms from all sources, ancient and modern, which, no doubt, was the beginning of Conway's "Sacred Anthology."

The best and most readable of Conway's own writing in the Dial is the part included under the head of "Critical Notices." In this sort of work the versatile editor was crisp, piquant and wonderfully discriminating. His genius is essentially literary, and he reads and reviews books *con amore.*

The year 1860 was prolific of significant books, especially in the line of controversies, religious and political, and of discussion, scientific and philosophical. A few of the numerous works reviewed with more or less thoroughness in the Dial, were Henry Ward Beecher's "Views and Evidences of Religious Subjects," and Edward Beecher's "Concord of Ages," both progressive; Sir William Hamilton's "Logic," the "Political Debates of Lincoln and Douglas," and "Redpath's "Life of John Brown," Darwin's "Origin of Species," Hawthorne's "Marble Faun," and George Eliot's "Mill on the Floss," and, in poetry, "Lucile" and Walt Whitman's "Leaves of Grass."

The editor's breezy criticism of Whitman contains an amusing passage, which is here quoted because it kills two or more birds with a well-slung stone. It reads as follows: "A friend of ours told us that once, when he was visiting Lizst, a fine-dressed gentleman from Boston was announced, and during the conversation the latter spoke with great contempt of Wagner (the new light) and his music. Lizst did not say any thing, but went to the open piano and struck with grandeur the opening chords of the Tannhäuser overture; having played it through, he turned and quietly remarked, 'The man who doesn't call

that good music is a fool.' It is the only reply which can be made to those who do not find that quintessence of things which we call poetry in many pages of his (Whitman's) work."

In a short but cordial notice of Coggeshall's "Poets and Poetry of the West," published at Columbus in 1860, occur these resounding sentences: "But we do not fear that any man will carefully read this book without seeing that the West has a symphony to utter, whose key-note is already struck, and which is to make the world pause and listen. The world has heard the song of Memnon in the Orient; it must now turn to hear the Memnon, carved by the ages, as it shall respond to the glow of the Occident."

The very last one of the seven hundred and seventy-eight pages included in the Dial is devoted to a reverential and laudatory heralding of Emerson's "Conduct of Life," the sheets of which the Boston master furnished in advance to his Cincinnati disciple.

The Dial was self-supporting. It was largely patronized by Jews.

In his "Parting Word" to the reader, the proprietor wrote: "We confess to some complacency regarding what we have done, and can never be brought to look upon the Dial as, in any sense, a failure. We could name one or two papers that we have been enabled to lay before the public, and claim that they alone were worth all the toil and expense which our project has involved with editor or subscriber. Sweeter verses have never been sung in the land than some which have been wafted from the branches of the Dial through the country. And we rest from our labors quite sure that we shall see the day when the numbers remaining on hand will be insufficient to supply the demand for them."

PARTIAL LIST OF LITERARY PERIODICALS PUBLISHED IN THE OHIO VALLEY FROM THE YEAR 1803 TO 1860.

NOTE.—The list includes a few newspapers devoted specially, if not wholly, to literature, but does not embrace the numerous publications issued to represent sectarian and professional interests. The early West, teemed with periodicals of a religious character, nor were there lacking journals of law, medicine, and agriculture.

The Medley or Monthly Miscellany. Daniel Bradford, Lexington, Ky. From January to December, 1803.

The Western Review and Miscellaneous Magazine. Monthly. Wm. Gibbs Hunt, Lexington, Ky. August, 1819, to July, 1821.

Successor to the Western Monitor, a Federal weekly paper established in 1814, and edited by Thos. Curry.

The Literary Cadet. Weekly. Dr. Joseph Buchanan, Cincinnati, November, 1819. Twenty-three numbers were issued and then the Cadet was merged in the Western Spy, which was thereafter published as the Western Spy and Literary Gazette.

The Olio. Semi-monthly. John H. Wood and Samuel S. Brooks, Cincinnati, 1821. Continued for one year.

The Literary Pamphleteer. Paris, Ky., 1823.

The Literary Gazette. Weekly. John P. Foote, Cincinnati, January, 1824, to December, 1824. Revived by Looker and Reynolds, who continued it for eight months in 1825.

The Western Censor. Indianapolis, Ind., 1823–24.

The Western Luminary. Lexington, Ky., 1824.

The Microscope. Louisville, Ky. Weekly. 1824.

The Western Minerva. Francis and Wm. D. Gallagher, Cincinnati, 1826. Survived less than one year.

New Harmony Gazette. New Harmony, Ind. Robt. Owen. 1825. 1 vol. Continued as the Free Enquirer in New York. 1828–35. 6 vols.

The Literary Focus. A Monthly College Paper. Oxford, Ohio, 1827–8. Published by the Erodelphian and Union Literary Societies. Printed by J. D. Smith.

The Western Review. Monthly. Timothy Flint, Cincinnati, May, 1827, to June, 1830.

Transylvania Literary Journal. A college paper. Prof. Thos. J. Matthews, Lexington, Ky., 1829.

Masonic Souvenir and Pittsburg Literary Gazette. A quarto weekly. Flint called it, "in form and appearance the handsomest in our valley." 1828.

The Shield. Weekly. R. C. Langdon, Cincinnati, 182–. Survived two years.

The Ladies' Museum. Weekly. Joel T. Case, Cincinnati, 1830. Survived one or two years.

The Illinois Magazine. Monthly. James Hall, Shawneetown, Ill., October, 1830, to January, 1832.

The Ladies' Museum and Western Repository of Belles Lettres. Cin-

cinnati. Edited by Joel T. Case. Printed by John Whetstone. Weekly. Begun in 1830, and merged in the Mirror in November, 1831.

The Cincinnati Mirror and Ladies' Parterre. Edited by Wm. D. Gallagher. Published by John H. Wood. Semi-monthly. First number issued October 1, 1831. At the beginning of the third year Thomrs H. Shreve went into partnership with Gallagher, and the two bought the paper, enlarged it, and issued it weekly under the name Cincinnati Mirror and Western Gazette of Literature. In April, 1835, the Chronicle was merged in the Mirror and James H. Perkins became one of its editors. The Mirror was sold in October, 1835, to James B. Marshall, and bought again in January, 1836, by Flash and Ryder. It was discontinued early in 1836.

The Olive Branch. Circleville, O. Scientific and Literary. Bimonthly, $1.50. Edited by "a number of gentlemen." 1832.

The National Historian. St. Clairsville, O., Horton J. Howard.

The South-western Port Folio. Proposals were issued for publishing in Nashville, Tenn., the above, to be conducted by Thomas Hoge and Wilkins Tannehill. The periodical was to appear April, 1832. Price, $5.00. Came to naught.

Western Quarterly Review. In April, 1832, Messrs. Hubbard and Edwards, of Cincinnati, issued the prospectus of a quarterly, each number to contain 250 pages. The projectors proposed to pay for all accepted articles at the rate of $3.00 a page. The first number was to come out in November, 1832, but it never appeared.

[The two last named projects, and another of a similar sort by Mrs. Julia Dumont, all originating about the same time, attest the general literary interest and ambition of the writers of the third decade of the century.]

The Literary Cabinet. St. Clairsville, O., 1833. Monthly. 12 numbers. Edited by Thomas Gregg.

The Academic Pioneer and Guardian of Education. Cincinnati, monthly, 1833. Forty 8vo. pages. Price, $2.00. Organ of the Western Academic Institute, and predecessor of the Academician. Albert Pickett, Editor.

Lexington Literary Journal. Lexington, Ky. John Clark, Esq., Editor and Proprietor. Twice a week. $3.00 a year, 1833.

The Western Monthly Magazine, a continuation of the Illinois Magazine. Cincinnati, James Hall, January, 1833, to February, 1837.

The Literary Pioneer. Nashville, Tenn., 1833.

The Kaleidoscope. Nashville, Tenn., 1833.

The Literary Register. Elyria, O., 1833.

The Schoolmaster and Academic Journal. Semi-monthly. B. F. Morris, Oxford, O., 1834.

The Western Gem and Cabinet of Literature, Science, and News. St. Clairsville, O. Semi-monthly, and afterward weekly. Gregg and Duffey. Mrs. Dumont and Mrs. Sigourney were contributors. 1834. Kept up about a year.

The Western Messenger. Cincinnati and Louisville. Western Uni-

tarian Association. Edited by Ephraim Peabody, James Freeman Clarke, James H. Perkins, and W. H. Channing. June, 1835, to April, 1841.

The Family Magazine. Cincinnati, Eli Taylor. Started in 1836 and published six years or more.

The Western Literary Journal and Review. Cincinnati, Wm. D. Gallagher, 1836. One volume.

Western Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal. Louisville, W. D. Gallagher and Lewis B. Marshall, 1837. Five numbers only.

The Hesperian; or, Western Monthly Magazine. Columbus and Cincinnati, Wm. D. Gallagher and Otway Curry, May, 1838 to [1841. 3 vols.

The Literary New-Letter. Weekly. Louisville, Ky., Edmund Flagg and Leonard Bliss, December, 1838, to November, 1840. Published by Prentiss and Weissenger in the Journal office.

The Monthly Chronicle. Edited by E. D. Mansfield, Cincinnati, O., 1839. Published by Achilles Pugh. One vol., 568 pages.

Literary Examiner and Western Review. Pittsburg, E. B. Fisher and W. H. Burleigh. Monthly. Eighty-four pages to a number. 1839. Published about a year by Wm. W. Whitney.

The Buckeye Blossom. Xenia, P. Lapham and W. B. Fairchild, 1839. 16 pages.

The Family Schoolmaster. Richmond, Ind., Halloway and Davis, 1839. Short lived.

The Western Lady's Book. Cincinnati. Edited by an association of ladies and gentlemen. Published by H. P. Brooks. Begun August, 1840.

The Ladies' Repository and Gatherings of the West. Cincinnati, Methodist Book Concern, 1841 to 1876. In the year 1877 the Methodist Book Concern began to publish the National Repository, which was kept up for four years.

Young Ladies' Museum. Cincinnati. Monthly quarto. J. P. and R. P. Donough, Publishers. Circulation of 1,200. 1841.

Family Magazine. Jas. H. Perkins, Editor. J. A. and U. P. James, Publishers. Cincinnati. Monthly. Circulation of 3,000. Begun in 1841.

The American Pioneer. Vol. I, Chillicothe, 1842; Vol. II., Cincinnati, 1842. John S. Williams. Historical.

The Western Rambler. Cincinnati, Austin T. Earle and Benj. S. Fry. Started September 28, 1844. Survived only a few months.

The Youths' Monthly Visitor. Cincinnati, 1844. Quarto. Edited by Margaret L. Bailey. Transferred to Washington city in 1847, and continued until 1852.

Southwestern Literary Journal and Monthly Review. E. C. Z. Judson ("Ned Buntline) and H. A. Kidd, assisted by L. A. Hine. Nos. 1 and 2 were published in Cincinnati; Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6 in Nashville, Tennessee. From November, 1844, to April, 1845.

The Querist. Cincinnati, Mrs. R. S. Nichols, 1844. Continued a few months.

The Democratic Monthly Magazine and Western Review. Columbus, Ohio, B. B. Taylor, Editor; S. Medary, Publisher. June and July, 1844.

The Casket. Cincinnati, J. H. Green, "the reformed gambler," and Emerson Bennett, 1845.

The Semi-Colon. Cincinnati. Robinson and Jones, 1845. Monthly.

Indiana Farmer and Gardener. Devoted to Rural Affairs and Domestic Economy. Indianapolis, Ind., 1845. Edited by Henry Ward Beecher. Continued in 1846, in Cincinnati, as Western Farmer and Gardener. Many of the articles in the above were incorporated into Beecher's book, "A Pleasant Talk About Fruits, Flowers, and Farming."

The Cincinnati Miscellany or Antiquities of the West. Cincinnati. Edited by Charles Cist; printed by Caleb Clark. Monthly. 2 vols. From October, 1844, to April, 1846. Very valuable.

The Quarterly Journal and Review. Cincinnati, L. A. Hine, January to October, 1846.

The Olden Time. Pittsburg, 1846. Edited by Neville Craig. Monthly. Devoted to Preservation of Documents, etc., relating to Early Settlement of Upper Ohio Valley. Reprinted by Robert Clarke, Cincinnati, in 1876, in 2 vols. Valuable.

The Herald of Truth. Cincinnati, L. A. Hine, January, 1847, to June, 1848.

The Great West. Literary newspaper. Cincinnati, E. Penrose Jones, May 5, 1848, to March, 1850.

Sackett's Model Parlor Paper. Cincinnati, Egbert Sackett and F. Colton, December, 1848. Eight numbers issued.

The Shooting Star. Cincinnati, S. H. Minor.

The Western Mirror. G. W. Copelan and "Sam'l Pickwick, Jr.," Woodward College, Cincinnati.

Western Quarterly Review. Cincinnati, L. A. Hine, January to April, 1849.

Gentlemen's Magazine. Cincinnati, J. Milton Sanders and J. M. Huntington, 1849. A few numbers only.

The Hipean. Cooper Female Institute, Dayton, Ohio, 1849.

Moore's Western Lady's Book. Cincinnati. Edited by A. and Mrs. H. G. Moore. Begun in 1849, and continued about eight years.

The Western Pioneer. Chillicothe and Cincinnati, S. Williams, 1841–4. 2 vols.

The Western Literary Magazine. Columbus, Ohio. George Brewer.

The Columbian. Literary newspaper. Cincinnati, W. B. Shattuc and W. D. Tidball, October 20, 1849, to March, 1850.

Buchanan's Journal of Man. Cincinnati. Begun 1850, and continued five or six years. Edited and published by Joseph R. Buchanan, M.D. A valuable publication.

The Western Literary Magazine. Louisville, Ky., 1853. Monthly.

The Phonetic Magazine. 48 pages. Monthly. Partly in the reformed spelling. Longley Brothers, 1853.

Type of the Times. Successor to above. Weekly octavo. Same publishers. Edited by L. A. Hine, Elias Longley, and William Henry Smith. 1853.

Columbian and Great West. Cincinnati, W. B. Shattuc, March, 1850, to September, 1854.

The Citizen. Lyons and McCormick, Cincinnati, 1851.

Pen and Pencil. Cincinnati, W. Wallace Warden. Started January, 1853. Eight numbers issued.

The Parlor Magazine. Cincinnati. Conducted by Jethro Jackson, assisted by Alice Cary. Begun July, 1853. 2 vols.

Genius of the West. Cincinnati. Edited by Howard Durham, Coates Kinney, and W. T. Coggeshall. October, 1853, to June, 1856.

The Literary Journal. Cincinnati, Mrs. "Ella Wentworth," Mrs. E. K. Banks, and H. Clay Pate, 1854. A few numbers.

West American Review. Cincinnati, G. W. L. Bickley, 1854.

The Forest Garland. Cincinnati, Smith and Lapham, 1854.

The Odd Fellows' Literary Casket. Cincinnati. Edited by W. P. Strickland; published by Tidball and Turner. Begun in 1854.

Afterward published by Longley Brothers, who engaged William Henry Smith to edit it. Among the contributors were Rev. I. D. Williamson and Wm. Dean Howells, the latter then working on the Ohio State Journal. Howells contributed pieces under the pseudonym "Chipsa."

The Templars' Magazine. Monthly. Cincinnati, Dr. Wadsworth, Editor, 1854.

The Diadem. Attica, Ohio, J. C. Michell, 1854.

The Literary Messenger. Versailles, Ind., Ross Alley, 1854.

The National Cadet. Cincinnati, Forrest and Stevens. Monthly. A temperance paper. Short-lived. 1854.

The Western Literary Cabinet. Detroit, Mich., Mrs. Sheldon, 1854.

The Home Journal. Cincinnati, Alf Burnett and Enos B. Reed, 1855.

The Western Art Journal. Cincinnati. Edited by Rev. W. P. Strickland; published by J. S. Babcock, 1855.

The Message Bird. Waynesville, Ohio, J. W. Roberts, 1856 to 1860.

The Louisville Review. Louisville, Ky. Monthly. 1856.

The Dial: A Monthly Magazine for Literature, Philosophy, and Religion. Cincinnati, M. D. Conway, January to December, 1860.

CHAPTER IV.

LIBRARIES—THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO.

I. SOME EARLY LIBRARIES.

Reuben T. Durrett, an exact historical writer and biographer, and himself the owner of by far the largest and best private library in Kentucky, writing from Louisville in 1888, says:

"As early as 1795, our provident neighbors of Lexington began the work of gathering together books for a public library. On New Year's day of that year, a few citizens met in the old state-house, and resolved to establish a library, to be called 'Transylvania Library.' They appointed a committee to secure subscriptions and perfect the organization, and in a few days they secured the amount of $500, and the money was collected and sent to the East for books. In the following January the books, 400 in number, arrived, and the people of Lexington were made glad by their appearance. In 1798 the old Kentucky Academy was merged in Transylvania University, and its little library of 200 volumes went to swell the new collection to 600. On the 29th of November, 1800, the library thus started was incorporated by the legislature under the name of 'The Sharers of the Lexington Library,' and thus was permanently established the first library ever started in the State of Kentucky.

"By the same act of the legislature which established the Lexington Library, two others were incorporated in the state: one, called 'The Sharers of the Georgetown

Library,' at Georgetown, Ky., and the other, 'The Sharers of the Danville Library,' at Danville, Ky. Among the incorporators of the last-named library appears the name of Ephraim McDowell, the early surgeon of Kentucky, who was the father of ovariotomy; and who, as early as the year 1809, performed the first operation in the world for removing diseased ovaries.

"In 1804 a library was incorporated at Lancaster, in Garrard county; in 1808 at Paris, in Bourbon; in 1809 at New Castle, in Henry; in 1810 at Shelbyville, in Shelby, and Winchester, in Clark; in 1811 at Washington, in Mason; in 1812 at Versailles, in Woodford, and Frankfort, in Franklin; and in 1815 at Mount Sterling, in Montgomery county.

"Each of the dozen libraries thus incorporated antedated any movement of the kind in the city of Louisville. None of them, however, is entitled to any honors beyond antiquity and a name in the statute book except the first, the Lexington Library, established in 1795. This noble old pioneer of human knowledge has come down from the past century, bearing the treasures of other times. It has survived fires, removals, changes of rulers and book thieves, and stands to-day with its ten thousand volumes, one of the greatest honors of the city that has cherished it for nearly a century. On its shelves are valuable old works that can nowhere else be found, and among them may be named complete files of the Kentucky Gazette, the earliest paper published in Kentucky, from its first issue, August 11, 1787, to its last."

The Transylvania College Library here referred to by Mr. Durrett was in its day one of the largest and best in the United States.

A portion of its classical and miscellaneous collection was selected by a no less competent scholar than Edward Everett. The medical books were procured in Europe by Dr. Charles Caldwell. The university possessed an anatomical museum, a cabinet of specimens in natural history, and a botanical garden.

Besides the college library, there was an independent collection, the Lexington Library, which was begun by the citizens in 1795. To this four hundred volumes purchased in Philadelphia were added in 1796. Donations were made to this pioneer library by George Washington, John Adams, Aaron Burr, and other notables. Clay became its benefactor in his days of power.

The old Lexington Library contains, among other rare works, Rapin's History of England, printed more than two hundred years ago, a large number of old black-letter English law books from one to three hundred years old, and a London street directory of two centuries ago. Perhaps the most curious book in the collection is a huge volume comprising a large number of old parchment deeds. These deeds are written in the black-letter script, in a barbarous law Latin, and each of them conveys property to the Church of the Apostles Peter and Paul, at Ipswich, England. They are supposed to be older than the time of Edward the First (1272), in whose reign the statute of mortmain, forbidding the conveyance of land to the Church, was enacted. An inscription on the fly-leaf of the volume states that it was "presented to the Lexington Library by John Bobb, Esq.," but does not say when. The old Gazettes of almost a century ago have frequent references to Mr. John Bobb, and of such a character as to lead one to suppose that he was a man of prominence in his day and generation, but it appears that he has now utterly vanished out of the memory of man. It is conjectured that this book was confiscated at Ipswich some time during the wars of the Commonwealth, about the middle of the seventeenth century, and brought to America by the confiscator or some member of his family. The vicinity of Lexington was settled almost exclusively by Virginians, a very great many of whom were from that portion of Virginia, "the Northern Neck," which in 1649 was largely settled by English cavaliers fleeing from the wrath of Cromwell after the execution of Charles the First.

I am indebted to Mr. Durrett for the following interesting sketch of

"*The First Library in Louisville.*

"It was not until 1816 that the citizens of Louisville seem to have thought of the necessity of a public library. On the 8th of February of this year Mann Butler, William C. Galt, Brooke Hill, Hezekiah Hawley, and William Tompkins obtained from the legislature a charter for the 'President and Directors of the Louisville Library Company.' This library was a joint stock association, with the right to issue as many shares as its directors might think necessary, and of any denomination they might wish. They had the authority to assess the shareholders, for the benefit of the library, to any sum per annum not exceeding one-fifth of the value of the shares of any one holder. In 1819, when Dr. McMurtrie published his history of Louisville, this library was located in the second story of the south wing of the old court-house, then standing in the place of the present city hall. Among its books were valuable histories collected by Mann Butler, and works on scientific subjects obtained by Dr. McMurtrie. The whole number of volumes was about 500, and the young library may then be said to have been in its prime. It never materially increased afterward, and when the malignant fever of 1822 almost depopulated the city, the library, as well as the people, seems to have taken the seeds of death into its system. The files of the first newspapers published in our city perished, and so did the early works upon the history of our city, state, and country. Only a few of its volumes have come down to our times, and these are of but little value in the collections in which they are now found. The most valuable books perished, and the unimportant ones which survived reached our times in such a mutilated condition as to be of little consideration except as relics of the past. There is a name connected with its organization, however, that should not pass from our memory as did its books from our use. This was Mann Butler, the first named among those who

appear in the act of incorporation. It was he who inaugurated the gathering together of this first collection of books in our city, and if he had had as much money as he had love for books, he would have placed the library upon such a lasting foundation that it would have stood to our times."

As to private libraries in Kentucky, there have been none of any particular importance until of late years. The books owned by the pioneers were few in number and of an ordinary character. There were some respectable professional libraries, but none of a literary or general character worthy of note. George Nicholas, Henry Clay, John J. Crittenden, S. S. Nicholas, Madison C. Johnston, and others, had good professional libraries. Colonel S. I. M. Major, who died at Frankfort a few years ago, had one of the best literary libraries in the state, but the number of its volumes did not exceed three thousand. The late Dr. T. S. Bell left a library of some two thousand volumes, and Dr. Richard H. Collins left about twenty-five hundred volumes.

The largest private library ever collected in Kentucky, with a single exception, is that of the late Jas. P. Boyce. It numbers about ten thousand volumes, and is very valuable as a theological collection. The only private library larger and more valuable than that of Mr. Boyce that has ever been collected in Kentucky is that of Mr. Durrett himself, now stored in his large mansion house, No. 202 Chestnut street, Louisville. Though the collections just named can not properly be called early libraries, they may, with propriety, be considered under that head, because they abound in material directly concerning the beginnings of our history and literature. To the student interested in the picturesque and romantic annals of pioneer days, in the newspapers, magazines, history, fiction, and poetry of the grand old State of Kentucky, the library of Colonel Durrett is a treasure-trove that can not be duplicated upon the globe.

Colonel Durrett's absorbing passion—he calls it his "hobby"—is the study of history and the collection of

books, pictures, and relics of an archæological kind. His father was a book collector, and gathered, in early days, a considerable library, which the son inherited, and to which he has been adding for forty years. The collection is the largest and most valuable that has ever been made in the State of Kentucky. In Kentucky books this library has no equal. The proprietor has made it a point to secure every book that was written by a Kentuckian or about Kentucky or a Kentuckian, or that was printed in Kentucky. While the library has pretty well exhausted the Kentucky State of publications, it also embraces the best works of all the other states, and of the United States and of Europe. The collection occupies six large rooms and a hall, and contains at least fifty thousand books and pamphlets. There are many old and rare works in the collection, and several valuable manuscripts relating to western history. The files of bound newspapers constitute an important feature of the library. There are numerous books that have severally a special interest as having belonged to distinguished men, or having passed through strange adventures. For instance, there is a copy of "Gulliver's Travels," the identical copy which the pioneer Neely read aloud to Boone and others in camp in the year 1770.

Among Colonel Durrett's manuscripts is a letter written by Boone, which I here reproduce:

"*May the 7th*, 1789.

"DEAR SIR:—This Instant I Start Down the River. My Two Sunes Returned ameadetely from philadelphia and Daniel Went Down With Sum goods in order to Take in gensgn at Lim Stone. I hope you Will Wright me By the Bearer Mr goe how you Ccm on With my Horsis—I Hear the Indians have Killed Sum peple Neer Limstone and Stole a Number of horsis—Indeed I Saw one of the men Who Was fired on When the kiled also 5 pursons War Cirtinly kiled on the head of Dunkard Crick on this River a bout Six Dayes since 30 miles from Radstone I Likewise saw a Later yesterday from Muskingdom To Mr

Galaspey at the old fort that 300 Indans are Certinly Sitout from Detraight To Way Lay the River at Deferent placis to Take Botes Sum Say 700 Sum Say 100 But the Later Cartifies of 300 this accoumpt you may Rely on I am Dear Sir With Respect your omble Sarvent

"DANIEL BOONE.

"My Best comtm. To Mrs. Huntt Col Rochester and Lady."

The first settlers of the North-western Territory, coming chiefly from the most cultured New England stock, considered books a necessary part of their household goods. Dr. S. P. Hildreth, the historian of Marietta, in his "Pioneer Biographies," mentions that General Israel Putnam "collected a large library of the most useful books; embracing history, belles-lettres, travels, etc., for the benefit of himself and children, called the Putnam Family Library. After his death they were divided amongst the heirs, and quite a number found their way to Ohio, being brought out by his son and grandchildren."

The first library in the territory north-west of the Ohio, like the first school, was at Belpre, near Marietta, O. It was organized in 1796, probably in August or September, and called the Putnam Family Library, though the name was changed to Belpre Library, or Belpre Farmers' Library. The library was owned by a joint stock company, with shares valued each at ten dollars. The books were kept at the house of Esquire Isaac Pierce, who was librarian. Dr. I. W. Andrews took the pains, in 1879, to trace and find, in the possession of several families, more than a score of volumes belonging originally to this pioneer collection, and bearing the inscription, "Putnam Library," or "Belpre Library." He gives the following particulars, which I copy from the Marietta Register of June —, 1879:

"The library formed in 1804 at Amesville, in what was then Washington county, now Athens, is a matter of general knowledge. It has been often referred to as a signal instance of the beneficial effects of good books in a

community. That township has produced some remarkable men, such as Bishop Ames and Thomas Ewing; and many of the families resident there at the beginning of the century, like the Browns, Cutlers, Walkers, and others, have been noted for their intelligence and elevated character. The formation of that library is a matter of familiar history, and the descendants of those who founded it may well be proud of the part there ancestors took in establishing such an association.

"Another library, formed by the early settlers in another part of the Ohio Company's purchase, is not so well known. When the writer prepared the centennial historical sketch of Washington county, three years ago, he was ignorant that such a company existed. His attention was arrested by seeing, among some old memoranda of early times, preserved by Colonel John Stone, of Belpre, a receipt for money paid for a share in a library in Belpre, in 1796. He at once wrote, asking for information respecting that library, and for the facts presented in this article he and the public are indebted to Colonel Stone.

"In the 'Lives of the Early Settlers,' by Dr. Hildreth, there is an allusion to the library of General Israel Putnam, from which the inference is possible that Colonel Israel Putnam, son of the General, might have brought with him to Ohio a number of books from the collection of his father, and that these became the nucleus of a public library. However this may be, there is abundant evidence of the existence of such a library at Belpre at a very early day. The receipt referred to above, and which is before me as I write, is as follows:

"'MARIETTA, *26th Oct.*, 1796.

"'Received of Johathan Stone by the hand of Benj. Miles, ten dollars for his share in the Putnam Family Library. W. P. PUTNAM, *Clerk.*'

"Here was a library organization with its stockholders and officers, the value of a share being $10. The organization had probably been recently effected, as the Indian

war was not ended till 1795. Captain Jonathan Stone, father of Colonel John Stone, was doubtless one of the original shareholders, and this receipt was for the payment of his stock. In the records of the Probate Office of Washington county, among the items in the inventory of the estate of Jonathan Stone, dated September 2, 1801, is this: 'One share in the Putnam Library, $10.'

"In the Ohio Historical Collections, by Henry Howe, under the head of Meigs County, is an account of pioneer life written by Amos Dunham, who settled in Washington county about 1802, and afterward removed to Meigs. He says: 'The long winter evenings were rather tedious, and in order to make them pass more smoothly, I purchased an interest in the Belpre Library, six miles distant. . . . Many a night have I passed in this manner (using pine knots in place of candles) till 12 or 1 o'clock, reading to my wife, while she was patcheling, carding, or spinning.'

"Have we any testimony as to the library from those now living? Mr. Edwin Guthrie has distinct remembrance of his father having books taken from the Belpre Library. Colonel Otis L. Bradford remembers that the library was kept at the house of their nearest neighbor, Isaac Pierce, Esq. Mrs. Smith, of Pomeroy, remembers her mother saying that her husband (Amos Dunham, mentioned above) could always find time to attend the Belpre Library meeting, regardless of hurrying work. Colonel John Stone recollects that Esquire Pierce was the librarian and kept the library at his house. He remembers attending at several times the meeting for drawing books, and has a distinct recollection that the association was dissolved by common consent, that he was present at the sale or distribution of books, and selected the Travels of Johathan Carver. The time of dissolution he can not give precisely, but thinks it was about 1815 or 1816. He is probably the only person now living who was present at that time.

"But if the organization was thus dissolved and the books distributed, can not some of them be found? Mr.

Geo. Dana reports six volumes among his books. John Locke's Essays concerning the Human Understanding, London, 1793, has "Putnam Family Library, No. 6," which is crossed, and underneath is written, "Belpre Library, No. 29." The Practical Farmer, title page gone, but dedicated to Thos. Jefferson in 1792, has "Putnam Family Library, No. 5," which is crossed, and underneath is written, "Belpre Library No. 6." He has also Robertson's History of Scotland, two volumes, inscribed, "Belpre Farmers' Library, No. 24," and Johnson's Lives of the English Poets, three volumes, inscribed, "Belpre Farmers' Library, No. 10." Both the last two works were published in 1811. It would seem that the name was changed from Putnam Family Library, as the inscription on some of the books is Belpre Library, and on others is Belpre Farmers' Library.

"Mr. I. W. Putnam writes that there are in his family, the History of Vermont, 1794, one volume; Bassett's History of England, four volumes; Hume's History of England, six volumes; and Goldsmith's Animated Nature.

"In the family of Mrs. O. H. Loring are five volumes of Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, published in England in 1783. Some of these contain the name of Wanton Casey, as well as the words 'Belpre Library.' Mr. Casey married the daughter of Major Goodale, and returned to Rhode Island, probably before 1800.

"There are then in these three families twenty-three volumes belonging originally to the Belpre Library, and inscribed with one or the other of the designations mentioned above.

"We have thus documentary evidence of the existence of this library, which is confirmed by the testimony of living witnesses, and by the production of more than twenty volumes having upon them the original library mark. How many volumes were in the library is not now known. One of those referred to bears the number 80. From titles quoted, it will be seen that the works were solid and good. The library was established as early as

1796, and continued in operation for twenty years or more.

"That the settlers of the Ohio Company thus established two libraries at a very early day can not be disputed. And the communities where they were established were both such as we might expect in intelligence and character. A large number of the present families of Belpre are the descendants of the early settlers. The ancestors of all the families in whose possession are the old library books were in Farmers' Castle at Belpre during the Indian war. And so were the ancestors of nearly all whose names are mentioned in this article."

Several of the volumes named by Dr. Andrews were exhibited by the owners, in the great Centennial Exposition at Cincinnati, in the summer of 1888.

The second library collected on the north side of the Ohio river was projected and organized by a number of gentlemen on Saturday, February 13, 1802, at Yeatman's Tavern, Cincinnati. The following subscribers each took one or more shares, at ten dollars a share, contributing, in all, the sum of $340. The names are Arthur St. Clair, Peyton Short, Cornelius R. Sedam, Samuel C. Vance, James Walker, S. S. Kerr, James Findlay, Jeremiah Hunt, Griffin Yeatman, Martin Baum, C. Kilgour, P. P. Stewart, W. Stanley, Jacob White, Patrick Dickey, C. Avery, John Reily, John R. Mills, Jacob Burnet, J. S. Findlay, Joseph Prince, David E. Wade, Isaac Van Huys, Joel Williams. The "Cincinnati Library" went into operation March 6, 1802, with Lewis Kerr as librarian. It is of interest to know that the above list begins with the name of the governor of the North-western Territory, General St. Clair, and that it contains the name of John Reily, first teacher in Ohio, and that of Judge Burnet, the author of "Burnet's Notes."

More interesting in its history than either of the libraries mentioned is the celebrated "Western Library," or "Coonskin Library," of Ames township, Athens county, Ohio. Ephraim Cutler, son of Manasseh Cutler, Sylvanus Ames, father of Bishop Ames, and Benjamin Brown, the

revolutionary soldier were among the organizers of this library. Mr. Walker, in his "History of Athens County," says: "Some of the settlers were good hunters, and there being a ready market for furs and skins, which were bought by the agents of John Jacob Astor and others, they easily paid their subscriptions. Mr. Samuel Brown, who was soon to make a trip to Boston in a wagon, would take the furs and skins intended for the purchase of books and bring back the books in return. His trip was unavoidably delayed longer than he expected, but in the summer of 1803 he went to Boston with the furs, etc., with which he purchased the first installment of books. These books cost $73.50, and comprised the following: 'Robertson's North America,' 'Harris' Encyclopædia,' 'Morse's Geography,' 'Adam's Truth of Religion,' 'Goldsmith's Works,' 'Evelina,' 'Children of the Abbey,' 'Blair's Lectures,' 'Clark's Disclosures,' 'Ramsey's American Revolution,' 'Goldsmith's Animated Nature,' 'Playfair's History of Jacobinism,' 'George Barnwell,' 'Camilla,' 'Beggar Girl,' and some others. Later purchases included Shakespeare, 'Don Quixote,' 'Locke's Essays,' 'Scottish Chiefs,' 'Josephus,' 'Smith's Wealth of Nations,' 'Spectator,' 'Plutarch's Lives,' 'Arabian Nights,' and 'Life of Washington.'" A pleasant anecdote associates the name of Thomas Ewing with the organization of the "Coonskin Library." It is related that while a boy Ewing used to carry books to the field and read aloud to the workhands, and that the rumor of this caused the neighbors to make up a purse of $100 to buy a library, the young reader contributing ten coon-skins to forward the project.

The transubstantiation of rattlesnakes into bacon, "for the posterity of Adam," which so impressed Carlyle's imagination, is not so striking and suggestive as this change and conservation of the force of traps and gunpowder into printed thought.

The second public library of Cincinnati was opened in 1814. Rare copies exist of a "Systematic Catalogue of Books Belonging to the Circulating Library of Cincinnati,

to which are prefixed an Historical Preface, the Act of Incorporation and By-Laws of the Society. Published by order of the Board of Directors. Cincinnati; Printed by Looker, Palmer and Reynolds, 1816." The "Historical Preface," evidently prepared by Dr. Daniel Drake, president of the society, tells us that, "in the autumn of 1808, several persons desirous of seeing a public library established in Cincinnati, assembled for the purpose of applying to the legislature of the state for a law of incorporation;" that a petition and draft of the bill were forwarded, but, "for reasons not discovered to the petitioners, their prayer was not granted;" that in 1811 "the project was again revived and a subscription paper circulated by George Turner, Esq., with considerable success." A meeting of subscribers was held, a constitution adopted, and finally a charter of incorporation was secured. The "Preface" goes on to record that, "on the sixteenth of April, 1814, the library containing little over three hundred volumes was opened. To effect an immediate increase of this diminutive collection was regarded as a great desideratum; and in addition to a pressing call for the unpaid subscriptions, the directors resolved upon and succeeded in borrowing from several persons small sums of money on a credit of three years without interest, and of purchasing from others a number of valuable books on the same terms." The first purchase of books, two hundred and fifty volumes, was made at Philadelphia in the summer of 1815. In the same year, "the trustees of Miami University authorized a committee of that board to examine the books belonging to that institution and dispose of such as were not essential to its library. Of the books thus rejected, a committee of the directors of the Library Society purchased, on credit, one hundred volumes, many of which are well suited to the popular tastes." "In the autumn the board vested one of its members, about to visit the eastern cities, with discretionary power to purchase books. The fruits of this delegation were about four hundred volumes, among which are many rare and valuable works." The interesting document we quote is dated October 17, 1816,

and signed by Daniel Drake, president, and Jesse Embree, secretary. The preface concludes as follows:

"For the present year it has been found absolutely necessary to increase the annual assessments ($1) a hundred per cent. To this measure no reasonable shareholder will object after a moment's reflection. In all similar institutions there is a contribution of this kind, and in most of those with which the directors have any acquaintance, it is greater than that under consideration. Without it no public library can flourish."

The directors of the Circulating Library in 1816 were: Daniel Drake, Jesse Embree, William S. Hatch, Thomas Peirce, Peyton S. Symmes, David Wade, Micajah T. Williams. The librarian was David Cathcart.

The library contained about one thousand four hundred volumes, value estimated at three thousand dollars. The books were classified in the catalogue under these heads: Arts and Sciences, Agriculture and Veterinary Art, Botany and Medicine, Biography, Chemistry, Mineralogy and the Arts, Drama, Education, Geography and Topography, Civil History, Law and Politics, Moral Philosophy, Military Tactics, Modern Classics, Miscellany, Natural History, Philosophy and Mathematics, Novels, Political Economy, Statistics and Commerce, Philology, Periodical Works, Poetry, Theology and Ecclesiastical History, Voyages and Travels, Donations.

Among the donors to this ambitious collection were: Christopher Anthony, S. D. Baldwin, Wm. H. Burton, William Corry, Daniel Drake, Prof. Hosack of New York, William S. Hatch, Samuel Lowry, James H. Looker, Prof. E. D. Mansfield, of the Military Academy, West Point, Josiah Meigs of Washington, Richard Marsh, Thomas Rawlins, Peyton S. Symmes, Cleves Short, and David Wade.

In the departments of history, law, and theology, this early library was well supplied. It contained, in biography: Boswell's "Johnson," Johnson's "Poets," Marshall's "Washington," Roscoe's "Lorenzo de Medici," Southey's "Nelson," Voltaire's "Peter the Great" and "Charles

XII." Under the head *Modern Classics*, it included "The Adventurer," "The Tattler," "The Spectator," "The Guardian," "The Rambler," the works of Bacon, Beatty, Sterne and Swift, Johnson's "Rasselas," and Irving's "Salmagundi." Fiction and poetry were represented by Edgeworth, Hannah More, Madam D'Arblay, Madam De Stael, Cervantes, Mrs. Opie, Henry Brooks, Smollett, Mackenzie, Rousseau, Miss Porter, Mrs. Hoffland, Holcroft, Goldsmith, Akenside, Beattie, Barlow, Butler, Burns, Bloomfield, Byron, Crabbe, Cowper, Campbell, Darwin, Dryden, Freneau, Gray, Hogg, Homer, House, Moore, Montgomery, Pope, Southey, Thompson, Trumbull, Scott.

Some of the by-laws of the Circulating Library Society are curious in the minute stringency of detail. For example:

"Every shareholder shall be entitled to receive from the library two volumes for each share he may hold therein.

"All persons are debarred from the privilege of lending any book taken out of the library to a non-shareholder, under the penalty of one dollar for every such offense.

"The time for detaining a book out of the library shall be: for a duodecimo, or any number of a periodical journal, one week; for an octavo, two weeks; for a quarto, three weeks; for a folio, four weeks. And if any book be not returned according to the time specified, there shall be paid a fine of six and one-quarter cents for a duodecimo, twelve and a half cents for an octavo, and twenty-five cents for a quarto or folio volume; and the fines shall be respectively doubled on every succeeding week, until they shall amount to the value of the book. *Provided*, that the above periods be extended two weeks to persons resident in the country.

"A deposit of *five dollars* shall be made with the librarian by every shareholder, on receiving a volume of the 'Cyclopædia' (Rees), Wilson's 'Ornithology,' or the 'English and Classical Dictionary.'"

Mansfield and Drake's "Cincinnati in 1826" informs us that the Circulating Library "is kept in one of the lower

rooms of the college edifice, where access may be had to it every Saturday afternoon." The "college edifice" was the original Cincinnati College building, first known as the Lancastrian Seminary, from the fact that a large school on the Lancastrian method was conducted there in 1816 by Edmund Harrison, under the presidency of Jacob Burnet, author of "Notes on the Northwestern Territory." Eventually, for some reason unknown to the writer, the books were boxed up and packed away in the cellar of a bookstore on Main street. Here they remained for several years, gathering dampness and mold, until Rev. J. H. Perkins, author of the invaluable "Western Annals," assumed the responsibility of overhauling the boxes, and bringing their neglected contents to the light. The treasured volumes of "Wilson's Ornithology" fell to pieces of their own weight. Such of the books as were in tolerable condition were selected and placed on the shelves of the library of the Ohio Mechanics' Institute, a harbor destined to receive the drifting remnants of several pioneer collections. The history of the Circulating Library reflects vividly the kind and degree of culture possessed by the Queen City of the West in her ambitious youth. The kind was practical, the degree high enough to grasp the relations of reading to academic training, and to stimulate several original literary enterprises. The Seminary, which grew up with the library and was nourished by it, was the first important school in the city. The men whose provincial enthusiasm over a few hundred books provokes a smile, included in their number some authors not to be despised.

At the time of the formation of this library society, the entire population of the Queen City was less than six thousand. In 1813, according to a census taken by order of the town council, the population was only four thousand. However, there was a high degree of intelligence among the citizens, and a zealous public spirit. Many of the early settlers of Cincinnati were educated persons, and had a correct appreciation of the value of books, schools, and like means of intellectual cultivation. The decade

extending from 1810 to 1820, which includes the period of the establishment of the Circulating Library, seems to have been a time of considerable literary activity and productiveness in the young metropolis of the Miami country. It was then that permanent newspapers were established here, then that books were first made in Ohio, that schools received special attention, that libraries came into popular demand, and that science and art found here true devotees. An association for literary and scientific improvement was established, under the presidency of the accomplished Josiah Meigs.

Doubtless the patient investigator might find in the local records of the older Ohio towns many traces of pioneer libraries formed under circumstances not unlike those which surrounded the citizens of new-sprung Marietta, Amesville and Cincinnati. The time has come when, resting from the exciting cares of business life and material conquest, western people are beginning to give attention to the things of the mind, and to regard as important not only the history of war, legislation and commerce, but also the memorials of education and culture in the backwoods. Historical societies are forming in almost every important locality, and special writer are busy reviewing the intellectual progress of our short but busy past.

Among the quiet but enthusiastic workers in the field of Ohio history and literature, no one is more deserving of mention and gratitude than Robert W. Steele, of Dayton, Ohio, who is doing for his city what R. T. Durrett has done for Louisville, in the way of founding institutions and preserving records of intellectual history. For many years the head and front of educational and literary enterprises in Dayton, Mr. Steele may justly be named the soul of the noble Public Library, which is the pride of his city. To the history of Dayton he has furnished a chapter on "Public Schools and Libraries," from which I extract an interesting passage concerning the first library in Dayton:

"In 1805," says Mr. Steele, "the citizens of Dayton ob-

tained from the legislature the first act of incorporation for a public library granted by the State of Ohio. The incorporators were Rev. William Robertson, Dr. John Elliot, William Miller, Benjamin Van Cleve, and John Folkerth. A pamphlet, stained and yellow with age, containing the constitution and rules of this library—probably the only copy in existence—fortunately has been preserved and deposited in the public library. A few of the rules are peculiar and may be worth presenting:

"Damage done to a book, while in the hands of a proprietor, shall be assessed by the librarian at the rate of three cents for a drop of tallow, or folding down a leaf, and so in proportion for any other damage."

In this day of gas and electricity, the fine for a "drop of tallow" is rather ludicrous, but no doubt books were often injured in that way when the reader was compelled to peruse them by the feeble light of a tallow-dip. Librarians are aware that the "folding down a leaf" is one of the common and annoying abuses of books at the present day.

Another rule prescribes that "the method of drawing books shall be by lot; that is to say, it shall be determined by lottery who shall have the first choice, and so on for each proprietor." Unfortunately, we have no intimation how the lottery was conducted. Rule eighteenth declares "if a proprietor lends a book belonging to the library to any person who is not a proprietor, or suffers a book to be carried into a school, he or she shall pay a fine equal to the value of one-quarter of said book." It is not easy to see what great damage could result to a book from being "carried into a school," but the whole tenor of the rules illustrates the preciousness of books at that early day, and the vigilant care taken of them. Like all libraries supported by voluntary subscription, every expedient had to be resorted to to raise money. In the Gridiron, a satirical paper published in Dayton in 1822, a file of which has been preserved in the public library, a play and farce are advertised to be given by the Thespian Society for the benefit of the library.

The library existed until 1835, when it was sold at auction, as appears from the following advertisement in the Dayton Journal of September 8, 1835: "Library at auction. The books and book-case belonging to the Dayton Library Association will be sold at auction at the clerk's office, at 2 o'clock P. M., on Saturday, the 12th inst. Henry Stoddard, William Bomberger, John W. Van Cleve, Committee." Mr. Van Cleve thus speaks of the character of the library: "The number of the books is small, but they are well selected, being principally useful standard works, which should be found in all institutions of this kind. Among them are the 'North American and American Quarterly Reviews for the last few years.' Who can doubt that this library, during the thirty years of its existence, was of inestimable value to the citizens of Dayton?"

An account of the early libraries of Indiana will be found in the chapter on Vincennes.

HISTORY OF THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO.

In 1822 an effort was made to form an Ohio historical society. The legislature passed an act of incorporation, but the society failed to organize. Nine years later the project was revived, and on the 11th of February, 1831, the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio was chartered.[1] The body was organized at Columbus, Ohio, December 31, 1831, by the adoption of a code of by-laws and the election of Benjamin Tappan president; Ebenezer

[1] The following is a list of charter members: Benjamin Tappan, John C. Wright, and Dr. John Andrews of Steubenville; Arius Nye and Dr. S. P. Hildreth, of Marietta; Appleton Downer, Dr. T. Flanner, and E. Buckingham, of Zanesville; Thomas James, B. G. Leonard, and James T. Worthington, of Chillicothe; Gustavus Swan, John M. Edmiston, Alfred Kelly, and Dr. Benjamin Platt, of Columbus; Joseph Sullivant, of Franklinton; Dr. E. Cooper, of Newark; R. H. Bishop, Thomas Kelly, and James McBride, of Butler county; Dr. J. Cobb, Dr. Elijah Slack, N. Longworth, John P. Foote, and Timothy Flint, of Cincinnati; John Sloan, of Wayne county; Ebenezer Lane, of Huron county, and William Wall, of Athens.

Lane and Rev. William Preston, vice-presidents; Alfred Kelly, corresponding secretary; P. B. Wilcox, recording secretary; John W. Campbell, treasurer; and G. Swan, Edward King, S. P. Hildreth, B. G. Leonard, and J. K. Kirtland, curators.

Among the leading members of the society in its first years, beside the above, were J. C. Wright, James Hoge, Arius Nye, C. B. Goddard, Joseph Sullivant, J. R. Swan, N. H. Swayne, M. Z. Kreider, J. H. James, I. A. Lapham, J. Ridgeway, Jr., R. Thompson, William Awl, Jacob Burnet, J. Delafield, Jr., J. B. Thompson, J. W. Andrews, W. D. Gallagher, T. L. Hamer, J. L. Miner, William Wall, and Simeon Nash. Benjamin Tappan filled the office of president until 1836, when he was succeeded by Ebenezer Lane, who gave place to Jacob Burnet in 1838. During all these years P. B. Wilcox was recording secretary, and Alfred Kelly was corresponding secretary until 1836. J. C. Wright was chosen president in 1841, and was continued in the office until 1844, at which date Judge Burnet was again elected.

At the annual meeting of December, 1832, the president, Benjamin Tappan, gave an address on the general objects of the society, and S. P. Hildreth read a paper on "Floods in the Ohio River." In 1833 Hon. Ebenezer Lane delivered the annual address. In 1834 the annual address was by J. H. James, and a paper was read by Joshua Malin, on the "Meteoric Phenomena of November 13, 1833," and Mr. G. H. Flood pronounced a eulogy on the life and labors of Dr. Thomas F. Connor. In December, 1837, Hon. Timothy Walker delivered the annual address, and Mr. J. Delafield presented a series of letters from Hon. Jacob Burnet.

The society in 1838 issued its first publication, a pamphlet of one hundred and thirty-one pages, entitled "Journal of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio," containing Volume I, Part I, of the Transactions of the Society. It includes the act of incorporation, by-laws, list of officers for 1838, the annual address of Tappan and of James, Hildreth's paper on the "Floods in the Ohio

River," a "Brief History of the Settlement of Dayton," by John W. Van Cleve; a "Brief Description of Washing County, Ohio," by a member, and papers by James McBride on the "Topography, Statistics, and History of Oxford, and the Miami University," and on "Ancient Fortifications in Butler County, Ohio."

In 1839 the second part of the first volume of transactions was published, containing addresses by Timothy Walker, James H. Perkins, James T. Worthington, and Arius Nye; a series of letters addressed to J. Delafield, Jr., by Jacob Burnet, on the settlement of the North-west Territory, and an address on the aborigines of the Ohio Valley, by W. H. Harrison.

In 1841 Charles Whittlesey delivered an address on the expedition of Lord Dunmore, of Virginia, against the Indian towns on the Scioto in 1774. The next annual meeting was held in 1844. At that meeting Mr. J. Sullivant was chosen corresponding secretary and curator. I am able to furnish an interesting letter from Mr. Sullivant, written from Columbus, March 11, 1869, and giving a history of the transfer of the Historical and Philosophical Society to Cincinnati, an event which took place in February, 1849.

Mr. Sullivant wrote:

"I was one of the incorporators named in the charter, and attended every meeting ever held in Columbus; was an officer and curator of the society, and I am not aware that any of its meetings was ever held in Cincinnati previous to its singular and informal transfer, the history of which I now propose to give. After the organization of the society, the annual meetings and elections were held at Columbus in the winter, during the sitting of the legislature, at which time new members were proposed and voted for, some of them paying the initiation fee, and seldom or never attending afterward, or keeping membership by their annual subscription. And so it went on from year to year—an annual address, proposing new members, and occasionally listening to original papers on local history; but it is a fact that very few of these papers

actually passed the possession of the society, being retained by the writers or withdrawn under some plea of alteration or revision. The meetings were usually in the representatives' hall in the old state house, the last two at the Neil House, and the one at which the transfer was made in a little bedroom third story of the same hotel. The first case belonging to the society was set up in the old room of the canal commissioners' office when I. A. Lapham was clerk, and this case was well filled with minerals, shells, fossils, antiquities, and specimens of natural history by Judge Benjamin Tappan, Lapham, and myself. Of books and pamphlets, Tappan and I deposited a number on science, early histories, and antiquities, but other than these, few were received except from the general government, which sent many volumes of state papers, surveys, reports, etc. These books and collections were moved about from place to place, and finally pilfered and scattered beyond recovery, with the exception of two hundred and three moderate-sized boxfuls, which were turned over to a Mr. Randall, and *he it was* who first proposed and most importunately and persistently urged the the removal of the society to Cincinnati. Mr. Randall, I believe, went to California and died there. As has already been said, most of the papers read before the society were upon local history and antiquities, such as mounds and earthworks. The few prepared on natural history were so coldly received as to discourage the few of us engaged on those researches, and of course these papers did not pass under the control of the society.

"I well remember when the names of William McClure, the father of American geology, and of Thomas Say, the distinguished naturalist, both well known and appreciated in Europe, were proposed for membership. It was only after a good deal of explanation and some discussion that they were voted in.

"It will be perceived that the society never had much vigor or vitality, nor could it scarcely have been expected, with its members widely scattered and meeting but once a year; and finally even the annual address failed, and its

meetings had ceased for two years when Mr. Randall came during the winter and after the time of the annual meeting, and as he said, on behalf of the Cincinnati Historical Society, and proposed and urged a union of the two societies. I was at that time secretary and curator of our society, and had the records in my possession, and explained to him that the proper time was already passed, and I had no authority to call a meeting. He still persisted, and as there was but little of value either in books, manuscripts, or collections, and it was evident the society was failing of its purpose in its then existing condition, I thought there would be no objections, provided it could be legally done, if the charter would be of any use to a body of active and working members. Therefore, I consulted here with the nominal and residing members, and with Mr. Chase, who was in the city and likewise favoring the change of locality. Finding no particular objections, I issued without signature a call for a meeting of O. H. and P. Society at the Neil House.

"Here let it be observed that of all those voted for as members, a large number failing to pay the initiation fee and conform to other requirements never really became members. When, at this time, Dr. John Thompson, the society's treasurer, came to examine into the matter, it was found that there were not enough legal members to fill the offices of the society, for continued membership depended on the paying of an annual fee, and at the time of this called meeting, not one person in Cincinnati was a member under the charter rules and regulations, and in this city but Dr. Thompson and the writer.

At the hour appointed, Dr. John Thompson, as treasurer, and myself, as secretary, proceeded to Mr. Randall's room, in the Neil House, where we met Mr. Randall and Mr. Chase, and then and there handed over the records, telling *them to make* such entries and records as would give the transfer a formal and legal sanction, and if the records *now* show any annual meeting of the society at that time in Cincinnati, where the 'members of the Cincinnati Historical Society were then elected members, and a donation

of all the property of the Cincinnati Historical Society was then accepted,' I apprehend the entries were made in accordance with the above understanding."

The Cincinnati Historical Society was organized in August, 1844, with the following officers: President, James H. Perkins; vice-presidents, John P. Foote and William D. Gallagher; recording secretary, E. P. Norton; treasurer, Robert Buchanan; librarian, A. Randall. These continued in office until 1847, when the following were chosen: President, D. K. Este; vice-presidents, J. Hall and J. P. Foote; recording secretary, James H. Perkins; corresponding secretary, J. G. Anthony; librarian, A. Randall. In 1848, William D. Gallagher was made president, with James H. Perkins, Charles Whittlesey, and E. D. Mansfield as vice-presidents.

In 1847, Dr. S. P. Hildreth presented to the society the manuscript of his "Pioneer History," which was published in 1848.

The first meeting of the Historical and Philosophical Society in the city of Cincinnati was held in February, 1849. Then the two societies united; the members of the Cincinnati society were elected members of the older organization, and all the property of the Cincinnati society was donated. The election of officers for the year 1849 was held March 20th. The following were elected: President, William D. Gallagher; vice-presidents, James H. Perkins, Edward D. Mansfield, Charles Whittlesey; treasurer, Robert Buchanan; corresponding secretary, A. Randall; recording secretary, Samuel B. Munson; librarian, G. Williams Kendall; curators, John C. Wright, John P. Foote, David K. Este, Edwin R. Campbell, Restore C. Carter.

Early in 1850 the constitution of the society was reconstructed. The primary object of the society was announced to be "research in every department of local history, collection, preservation, and diffusion of whatever may relate to the history, biography, literature, philosophy, and antiquities of America, more especially of the state of Ohio, of the West, and of the United States." The

number of curators was increased from five to fifteen. The date of the annual meeting was fixed for the first Monday in December.

Mr. Gallagher was re-elected president for 1850, and Robert Buchanan, treasurer. On the 8th of April, 1850, a meeting was held to commemorate the first settlement of Ohio, the sixty-second anniversary of which fell on Sunday, April 7th. On that occasion Mr. Gallagher delivered an elaborate address entitled "Facts and Conditions of Progress in the North-west." This was published by the society, with an appendix containing a sketch of the history of the society, the constitution, and the report of officers for 1849. Hildreth's "Memoirs of the Pioneer Settlers of Ohio" was published, under the auspices of the society, two years later.

The records of the proceedings of the society, from 1850 to 1868, unfortunately, are lost. According to the best recollection of several old members whom the writer interviewed in 1869, E. D. Mansfield succeeded Wm. D. Gallagher as president, and Colonel Johnson, the Indian agent, succeeded him. John P. Foote was the next president, and after him Robert Buchanan held the office down to 1870, when Hon. M. F. Force was made president.

When the society moved to Cincinnati, in 1849, it brought its library. The books and archives of the united societies were deposited in the front room of the fourth story of a new brick building on the corner of Third and Race streets, Cincinnati. They were removed, probably about 1853, to an apartment in the basement of the Cincinnati College, on Walnut street, between Fourth and Fifth. John P. Foote, in his "Schools of Cincinnati," published in 1855, says:

"The room in the college building devoted to the society's library and its meetings is spacious and convenient, and the meetings which have been held there have generally been remarkably interesting."

The late George Graham, one of the most eminent and useful members of the society, gave me his recollections in writing, as follows:

"It was deemed advisable by the directors to discontinue the occupancy of the college, when the books, manuscripts, etc., of the library were bound up and taken, I think, to Mr. Buchanan's store. After remaining there some time, they were transferred to the school library and placed in two alcoves, where they were to remain unmolested until called for by the Historical Society."

This removal took place in 1860, as the records of the public library show. The public library was then in the Mechanics' Institute building, corner of Sixth and Vine streets.

Hon. M. F. Force, referring to the struggling years of the society just after 1852, says:

"Meetings were regularly held, and while the attendance varied, some nine or ten members were quite constant —E. D. Mansfield, Robert Buchanan, George Graham, Peyton Symmes, James Lupton, J. G. Anthony, Osgood Mussey, John D. Caldwell, A. R. Spofford, and myself. There were constant though not large accessions to the library, and many papers were read, some of which were published in the newspapers. . . . Some members have died, others moved away, and at the close of the war there were four active members remaining in the city, Robert Buchanan, George Graham, John D. Caldwell, and myself. Julius Dexter, Robert Clarke, and E. F. Bliss became interested in reviving the society. Some of the four survivors, or possibly one, flocking by himself, held a meeting and elected a number of new members in May, 1868. Meetings were held about in offices till December, 1868, when an arragement was made with the Literary Club,[1] and what was left of the library was ob-

[1] The Cincinnati Literary Club was organized October 29, 1849, at the rooms of Mr. A. R. Spofford, now Librarian of Congress. The membership was originally limited to twenty-five, was increased to thirty in 1851, afterward to thirty-five, then to fifty, then to eighty, and, in 1875, to one hundred. On April 15, 1861, the club formed a military company, the Burnet Rifles, and subsequently fifty members entered the army. The following is a list of club members during the first club year 1849: John G. Baker, Henry B. Blackwell, D. L. Brown, J. D. Buchanan, Francis Collins, Isaac C. Collins, Nelson Cross, W. M. Dick-

tained from the public library and moved into the rooms of the club."

At the meeting called for reorganization, May 23, 1868, the following officers were re-elected: President, Robert Buchanan; corresponding secretary, M. F. Force; recording secretary, Charles E. Cist; librarian, John D. Caldwell. Robert Buchanan was re-elected in 1869. M. F. Force was elected president in 1870, and held the office until 1889, when he removed from Cincinnati, and Eugene F. Bliss was chosen to the place. Robert Clarke was treasurer from 1869 to 1873, since which he has been corresponding secretary. E. F. Bliss became treasurer in 1874, and held the office till 1885, when A. H. Chatfield succeeded him. J. M. Newton was librarian in 1869, Julius Dexter from 1870 to 1880, Miss E. H. Appleton from 1880 to September, 1886, since which time the important position has been held by Mrs. C. W. Lord.

The society republished, in 1872, Part I, Volume 1, of its transactions, the Columbus edition of 1838 being out of print. In 1873 a new series of publications was begun, by the publication of the "Journal of Captain John May." The last publication, to date, of the society, is the "Journal of David Zeisberger," translated from the German manuscript, with annotations by Eugene F. Bliss. This, the largest and most important work yet issued by the society, was put forth in 1885. The trustees of the Cincinnati College gave the society the use, rent free, of five rooms in the upper story of the college building, to which the society moved April 1, 1871, and where it remained fourteen years. The growth of the society in that period was constant and vigorous. Contributions toward a building fund and an endowment fund were made, and care-

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son, Edwin D. Dodd, Wm. Ferguson, Manning F. Force, Israel Garrard, C. A. Glass, Wm. Guilford, John Gundry, Rutherford B. Hayes, John W. Herron, L. A. Hine, Patrick Mallon, Stanley Matthews, John H. McDowell, W. C. McDowell, Charles C. Pierce, M. L. Sheldon, Albert Sheppard, J. R. Skinner, A. R. Spofford, R. H. Stephenson, A. S. Sullivan, H. G. Wade, W. A. Warriner, M. Hazen White, A. T. Whittaker, J. K. Wilson, P. C. Wyeth, J. C. Zachos.

fully invested. In the summer of 1885, the society purchased a fine three-story building on Eighth street, No. 115, west of Race and next to the Lincoln Club building. Formal possession was taken of these commodious new quarters on October 15, 1885, when the president, Hon. M. F. Force, delivered a short address, concluding with the following words:

"We have not moved into this comfortable home to rest from labor. It is only vantage ground for renewed zeal and larger enterprise. Two works on interesting and obscure points in the early history of Ohio are in competent hands, and will appear in due time. Twenty thousand dollars are due upon the purchase of the house, and there are only $1,400 dollars in the building fund. The deficiency must be made up. From the experience of the past, we can trust to the continued growth of the library. The cabinet must be enlarged. Ohio was the richest field for Indian implements and relics of the Mound Builders, but constant sale of collections to the eastern states and to Europe have carried off nearly all, and what little is left is apt to go in the same way. New Mexico has in like manner been parting with objects illustrating the life of the Pueblo Indians. Some collections are left, which can be got for a price small compared with their real value. Let us trust that some hand, guided by wise liberality, will rescue a portion before the opportunity passes away forever.

"Members of the society, press on with unflagging zeal. Let your collections become so full that they will form a monument worthy of the city and the state—so complete that no question can arise concerning the history of the Ohio Valley which can not find an answer on your shelves."

The object of the society, as defined in the present constitution, is to collect and preserve all things relating to the history and antiquities of America, more especially of the State of Ohio, and to diffuse knowledge concerning them. I have mentioned the various publications of the

society. It remains to give some account of the collections of its library and cabinet.

The number of volumes in the library at the time of the removal from Columbus is not now known. An accession of about four hundred volumes was received from the Cincinnati society. Sometime between 1849 and 1855 Mr. George T. Williamson made to the society a donation of several rare and costly works, chief of which was a set of "Lord Kinsborough's Mexican Antiquities," published at London, in nine large folios, elaborately illustrated. The first seven volumes of this magnificent publication are estimated to have cost $300,000. Among other works understood to belong to Mr. Williamson's contribution are a number of volumes of old English chronicles in Latin; eleven volumes of English state papers of the time of Henry VIII.; the "Naval History of Great Britain," by Hon. George Berkley, a large folio of seven hundred and six pages, printed in 1756; "Register of the Great Seal of the Kingdom of Scotland from 1306 to 1324;" "Acts of the Lords' Auditors of Causes and Complaints of Scotland, from 1466 to 1494;" "Acts of the Lords of Council of Scotland, from 1478 to 1495," and a dozen or more other volumes of proceedings, ordinances, records, etc., relating to the early history of Scotland and England. Also the "Journal of the Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Colony of New York," in two volumes, covering a period of seventy-four years, from 1691 to 1751; the "Laws of New York from 1691 to 1751;" and the "Laws of Maryland," by Thomas Bacon, rector of All Saints' parish, in Frederick county, and domestic chaplain in Maryland to the Right Honorable Frederick Lord Baltimore. All these highly interesting works are in the library in a state of good preservation.

Besides the contributions of Mr. Williamson, a number of important volumes were donated at about the same time by Mr. Peter Force, of Washington City. Among these are Mr. Force's own useful compilations, the "National Calendar," in several volumes, dating from 1820. The Smithsonian Institute favored the society with its

contributions to useful knowledge, and the national government furnished Schoolcraft's "Reports on the Indians," and a vast number of valuable documentary works.

Some time before the year 1855, the books of the New England Society, numbering about three hundred and forty-three volumes, were deposited with the Historical Society and became its property. The New England Society was organized for the purpose of "perpetuating the memory of early settlers of New England," "extending charity to the needy of New England birth, and their widows and orphans," and "promoting virtue, knowledge and all useful learning."[1] Timothy Walker was president of the society in 1847 and 1848. The formation of a historical and antiquarian library was undertaken about the end of the year 1847. Contributions in money and books were obtained from prominent New Englanders residing in Cincinnati, and from Nathaniel B. Shurtliff and Samuel G. Drake, of Boston. The books include a fair showing of reports of various historical societies, especially of the States of Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire and Rhode Island, with some of Connecticut, Maryland and Louisiana; directories of Boston and other cities, sketches of American antiquities and early history, chronological statistics, colonial records, accounts of early travel and exploration, etc.

When, in 1869, the books were removed from the Mechanics' Institute to the rooms of the Literary Club, the efficient librarian, Mr. J. M. Newton, set about overhauling and classifying the collection. The discovery of an old catalogue revealed the loss of a number of volumes and many valuable manuscripts. Mr. Newton found that the library comprised in all 700 bound volumes and 1,250 pamphlets.

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[1] It was chartered March 1, 1845, on the application of Henry Starr, Nathaniel Sawyer, Bellamy Storer, Ephraim Robins, Lot E. Brewster, Salmon P. Chase, R. D. Mussey, Nathan Sampson, Edward D. Mansfield, Lyman Beecher, Henry Crane, Edmund Gage, Calvin E. Stowe, M. Flagg, Alphonso Taft, Ira Athearn, T. Woodrough, C. K. Cady, Jonathan Bates, Charles Fisher and others.

But donations came in steadily. On the first of January, 1872, Mr. Julius Dexter, then librarian, began the tedious task of cataloguing the growing collection. He gave, substantially, two years of his time to the work. At the close of the year 1874, the society owned 4,967 bound volumes and 15,856 pamphlets, accurately catalogued and arranged.

There are at present (1890) in the library 10,850 bound volumes and 50,000 pamphlets.

A valuable special feature of the library is that known as the Centennial Collection, presented by A. T. Goshorn, and comprising 67 volumes, 303 pamphlets, and many photographs, etc., the whole relating to international expositions, and particularly to the Philadelphia Exposition, of 1876, of which Mr. Goshorn was manager.

Another highly important portion of the archives of the society is the collection known as The Torrence Papers, donated by Aaron Torrence in 1885. The manuscript part of this collection is fully described in a catalogue prepared by Mr. Bliss and published in 1887. A general description of the Torrence Papers is here quoted from Mrs. Lord's report for the year 1886:

"In the last report of the librarian of the society occurs the name of Aaron Torrence as the giver of 67 volumes and 630 pamphlets; to these are this year added 40 volumes. But printed matter was the least part of his gift. He made over to the society a mass of letters and documents of every sort. Related as is his family to the Findlays, the Harrisons, the Whitemans, the Irvins, all of whom have been prominent in the development of Cincinnati, he had in his hands documents of the highest value for the local history of our city and going back almost to its foundation. There are the curious orders of our earliest settlers and of the officers and soldiers of Fort Washington upon Smith & Findlay, suttlers or general traders; the orders and vouchers of the military authorities in the various campaigns against the Indians at the close of the last century; many certificates of the receiver in the land office here; the muster rolls of the state

militia, and documents relating to the War of 1812. There is a great number of letters received by General Findlay when he was a member of Congress from hungry constituents, there are letters written by Samuel Torrence from West Point, when he was a cadet there in 1823–28, letters from General Wayne, from General Wilkinson and from General Jessup. In this collection all the prominent families of the early city and vicinity are represented, the Shorts, Worthingtons, Wrights, Lytles, Burnets, Longworths, Schencks, Taylors, Southgates, Ludlows, Sloos, Mahards, Bullocks, Kilgours, Yeatmans, Ruffins, Storers, Baums, Buchanans, Carneals, Dawsons, Drakes, Hammonds, Kempers. There are letters and other papers of President Harrison from the time he was a lieutenant in the army. There are plats of the various subdivisions of the city, legal documents of many kinds, specimens of early paper money, invitations and visiting cards, accounts with individuals and lists of prices, a mine of treasure to the future investigator."

CHAPTER V.

TEACHERS, SCHOOLS, AND COLLEGES IN THE BACKWOODS.

The founders of the American Nation, whether residing in New England, the Middle States, or the South, were advocates and promoters of popular education. Franklin, Washington, the Adamses, Jefferson, however much they might differ on other questions, were united in the conviction expressed by Washington to Congress, that "Knowledge in every country is the surest basis of public happiness." Jefferson's writings are saturated with the doctrine that knowledge and thought are the safeguards of democracy.

The celebrated "Notes on the State of Virginia," was written in 1781, and revised in 1782, just before the close of the Revolutionary War. The first American edition was issued in 1787, the year of the ordinance which organized the "Old North-west." In the chapter on the charters and laws of Virginia, Jefferson outlines a plan for the revisal of the statutes, embracing a proposal "To establish religious freedom on the broadest bottom," and "To emacipate all the slaves born after the passing of the act." The chapter discusses the subject of education, and concludes with this noble passage: "Every government degenerates when trusted to the *rulers* of the people alone. The people themselves, therefore, are its only safe depositories. And to render even them safe, their minds must be improved to a certain degree. This indeed is not all that is necessary, though it be essentially necessary. An amendment to our constitution must here come in aid of the public education. The influence over government must be shared among all the people."

With the possession of intelligence, Jefferson associates

the exercise of suffrage. He exerted an active and continuous influence in favor of popular education in Virginia, and the power of his word and example spread to Kentucky and other parts of the Ohio Valley. Mr. Dunn, in his history of Indiana, says: "If we look to the influence of literature, we find nothing from the North that had more effect in Indiana than Jefferson's 'Notes on Virginia.'"

But Jefferson is by no means entitled to all the credit for promoting the cause of education in the South.

In the year 1780, the legislature of Virginia passed "An Act to vest certain escheated Lands in the County of Kentucky, in Trustees for a Public School." The passage of this bill, which was brought about chiefly by Colonel John Todd, led to the founding of Transylvania University, the first important college in the Ohio Valley. Other laws enacted by the Kentucky legislature in 1796, provided for the establishment of an academy in every county of the state, and endowed twenty-six academies, each with six thousand acres of land. These academies were to become feeders of the great central university. Those patriots who conceived the splendid project of a school system for Kentucky, knew better than they builded.

When the embattled farmers at Concord Bridge "fired the shot heard round the world," the swift report flying westward, saluted the ears of a party of hunters encamped near the Kentucky river. These, one of whom was Simon Kenton, were genuine "Long Knives"—rangers, clad in garments stripped from the deer, the bear, and the wolf, and armed with rifle, tomahawk, and scalping-knife. By patriotic consent they named the place of their encampment Lexington, and four years later, in April, 1779, a village was begun on the spot. Founded but five years after Boone led the vanguard of immigration through Cumberland Gap, and broke the old Wilderness Road through primeval solitude, Lexington is only less ancient than a few stations like Harrodsburg and Boonesborough. It is now but little over one hundred years since the pioneers

"Chopping out the night, chopped in the morn,"

and took the forest trees to fashion the rude stockade which was the beginning of the "Athens of the West."

A higher distinction than that derived from its rapid material growth, belongs to this town. Thither from the East, with commerce went culture. Lexington and its vicinity formed the first island of civilization in the green ocean of the western wilderness. Just outside the fort, the settlers built a school-house, perhaps the first in the Ohio Valley. The stockade was a defense against savages, the school-house a redoubt against ignorance, and a magazine for mental stores. John McKinney, the schoolmaster, deserves a monument or a statue. One morning, John, waiting for his pupils, was surprised by a visit from a most unwelcome examiner, a monstrous wild-cat, which stealthily came in at the open door, and sprang at the pedagogical throat. The unarmed man of letters, after a terrific combat, killed the powerful beast by choking and crushing it upon his desk; and while its fierce teeth were yet locked in the flesh of his side, he said placidly to some men who rushed to his rescue:, "Gentlemen, I have caught a cat." The progress of civilization is symbolized by the picture of McKinney slaying the wild-cat in the rude hut dedicated to the education of children.[1]

About the year 1783, there appeared upon the scene of affairs in Kentucky, a schoolmaster from the banks of the Brandywine—another John, whose figure, like that of McKinney, stands in picturesque relief in the mixed light of history and tradition. He wrote the first annals of Kentucky, and surveyed the first road from Lexington to Cincinnati, or Losantiville, as he named the town; he it was who, in the Kentucky Gazette, proposed to organize a seminary in Lexington, in which should be taught the "French language, with all the arts and sciences used in the academies," for a fee of "five pounds per annum, one-half cash and the other property," and who offended certain citizens by announcing his intention to employ "northern teachers;"—John Filson, who, as I have stated

[1] See the author's "Footprints of the Pioneers," Cincinnati, 1888.

in a preceding chapter, wandered from his comrades, encamped on the northern shore of the Ohio, and took a lonely walk in the Big Miami woods—a walk from which he never returned.

The Virginia school act of 1780 is in the following language:

"Whereas, it is represented to this General Assembly that there are certain lands within the county of Kentucky, formerly belonging to British subjects, not yet sold under the law of escheats and forfeitures, which might be, at a future day, a valuable fund for the maintenance and education of youth; and it being the interest of this Commonwealth always to promote and encourage every design which may tend to the improvement of the mind and the diffusion of knowledge even among its *remote citizens, whose situation, in a barbarous neighborhood and a savage intercourse, might otherwise render unfriendly to science;* be it therefore enacted, that eight thousand acres of land within the said county of Kentucky . . . should be vested in trustees as a free donation from this Commonwealth, for the purpose of a public school or seminary of learning, to be erected within said county as soon as its circumstances and the state of its funds will admit."

Thus, fifteen years before lands were selected for the support of the first college in the North-western Territory, at Athens, O., the Virginia Assembly provided endowment for a seminary in Kentucky. The institution was in practical operation in 1785 in the private house of Rev. David Rice, near Danville. "Old Father Rice" was selected as the first teacher; the school was christened Transylvania Seminary, a good name, meaning, literally, the nursery or seed-plat beyond the woods.

Three years after its organization the school was removed from Danville, the early capital of the district of Kentucky, to Lexington, the real seat of power, where, in 1788, a small two-story brick building was erected for its accommodation. For the first nine years the management of the seminary was in the hands of Presbyterians; but, in 1794, Rev. Henry Toulmin, nominally a Baptist,

but, in fact, an English Unitarian and disciple of Priestly, was chosen president.

The Presbyterians started a rival school at Pisgah, naming it Kentucky Academy. To this institution $1,000 were subscribed by friends of education in the East. Washington gave $100; John Adams, $100; Aaron Burr, $50. The Rev. Dr. Gordon,[1] of London, gave £80 for the purchase of books and apparatus.

The two schools were, 1798, united under the presidency of an Episcopal clergyman, Rev. James Moore. At the same time the institution was reorganized, enlarged, and chartered as Transylvania University. Lexington was chosen as its permanent seat. The second president was Rev. James Blythe, D.D., whose administration extended from 1804 to 1818.

Degrees were conferred by this backwoods university as long ago as 1802. Yet it is no disparagement to say that during the period from its founding to 1818, Transylvania University was not much superior to a modern first-class grammar school. Just after the close of the war of 1812–15, literary institutions in all parts of the country took a new lease of life.

Dr. Blythe was succeeded in December, 1818, by Rev. Horace Holley, LL.D., a graduate of Yale College, and an admirer and favorite of President Timothy Dwight. For several years he had been pastor of Hollis Street Unitarian Church, Boston, and his preaching power was much praised. One of his enthusiastic biographers claims that in pulpit eloquence he was not surpassed by Bossuet or Massilon, while he undoubtedly excelled Chalmers and Irving! All accounts agree that Holley was eloquent, learned, and handsome. Timothy Flint, who was of the same cloth and sect as the doctor, and possibly was touched with a slight jealousy, wrote that "Dr. Holley was fond of society, and not much given to seclusion;

[1] Rev. Wm. Gordon, D.D. (1729–1807), preacher and author. From 1770 to 1786, he was minister of a church in Roxbury, Mass. Wrote "History of Independency in the United States."

and yet he seemed to be a living library, and to have a universal acquaintance with literature."

The new president was welcomed to his fresh field of labor, where his energy and many accomplishments wrought miracles for the university. His popularity drew students from far. The catalogues for 1823–4–5 show an average yearly attendance of about four hundred. The three departments of literature, law, and medicine were conducted by full faculties of eminent professors. At the head of the law school was Jndge Jesse Bledsoe, LL.D. Among the medical teachers were Dr. Samuel Brown, reputed to be the first physician who practiced vaccination in the United States; Dr. Ben. W. Dudley, the famous surgeon; Dr. Daniel Drake, the first prominent medical author of the West, and Dr. Charles Caldwell, a man of varied talents and achievements in science and letters, but chiefly noted as the "American Spurzheim."

Charles Caldwell was born in North Carolina in the year 1772. He was a pupil and *protege* of Dr. Benjamin Rush, the signer; an intimate friend of Jefferson and Madison, and on terms of familiar correspondence with Washington. In 1795, he translated Blumenbach's "Elements of Physiology." In 1814, he succeeded Nicholas Biddle as editor of the *Port Folio*, Philadelphia. He published a "Life of Nathaniel Greene,"[1] in 1819, and in that year took up his residence in Lexington. He went to Europe in 1820 to purchase books and models for the medical school of Transylvania. A voluminous author, he wrote on various subjects; his printed books comprise 10,000 pages. His writings are chiefly of a scientific character, though he contributed to literature the "Life of Greene," a "Memoir of Dr. Holley," and an entertaining "Autobiography." From 1837 to his death, in 1853, he lived in Louisville.

The literary department of Transylvania retained the services of ex-President Blythe, who, in after years, pre-

[1] Greene (Nathaniel). Memoirs of the Life and Campaigns of. By Charles Caldwell. Portrait. 8vo. pp. 452. Philadelphia, 1819.

sided over Hanover College, Indiana. R. H. Bishop, who subsequently became president of Miami University, was professor of history at Lexington. He published an "Outline of the History of the Church in Kentucky," in 1824. In the same year Thomas Johnson Matthews, father of Justice Stanley Matthews, was elected professor of mathematics and natural philosophy at Transylvania. He had been a canal surveyor, and in later years taught in Miami University and in Woodward College, now Woodward High School, Cincinnati. A very prominent figure in the Lexington Faculty was Prof. C. S. Rafinesque, who lectured on every thing in general and archæology and natural history in special. Rafinesque was a Greek, a universal genius, whose very name some of his contemporaries "considered synonymous with literature and science," while others, and especially those who affected his line of studies, suspected him of being a humbug and charlatan.

Constantine Samuel Rafinesque, born at Galata, near Constantinople, in 1784, came to America in 1802, returned to Europe in 1805, and, after spending ten years in Sicily, published in French a work called "The Analysis of Nature." Sailing for New York, he was shipwrecked on Long Island. He resided a while in New York, supporting himself by tutoring, but came to Kentucky, in 1818, on invitation of the naturalist, John D. Clifford. He descended the Ohio, in an "ark," from Pittsburg, stopping at pleasure to botanize and to study the shells and fishes of the river.

At Henderson, Kentucky, he became acquainted with J. J. Audubon, the American ornithologist. He settled at Lexington in 1819, and remained there about seven years, lecturing in the college on his specialties, and teaching French, Italian and Spanish. During these years he collected materials for a proposed work entitled "Tellus, or the History of the Earth and Mankind," which was never finished. In 1824 he published the "Ancient History of Kentucky," and in 1836, his "Life of Travels and Researches in North America and South Europe."

Rafinesque died in Philadelphia in 1842. It is recorded of him in Collins's "Kentucky," that he claimed to be "a botanist, naturalist, conchologist, geologist, geographer, ethnographer, philologist, historian, antiquarian, poet, philosopher, economist, and philanthropist; also, a traveler, merchant, manufacturer, collector, improver, professor, teacher, surveyor, draughtsman, engineer, author, editor, bookseller, librarian, secretary, and chancellor."

Another professor in Transylvania was Dr. Joseph Buchanan (born 1785, died 1829). He must not be confounded with his eminent son, Dr. Joseph Rhodes Buchanan, who was born in Frankfort, Ky, in 1814, and who was editor of the "Journal of Man" and originator of a system of "Anthropology." Joseph Buchanan was the author of a volume on the "Philosophy of Human Nature," published in 1812. He is credited with being the first to introduce into Kentucky the Pestalozzian method of teaching. He edited the Lexington Reporter, the Frankfort Palladium, and the Cincinnati Literary Cadet; and, in 1826, projected the Louisville Focus, which was merged in the Journal of George D. Prentice.

E. D. Mansfield said of Dr. Holley and his associates: "Altogether, a greater array of strength, of brilliant talents and wide reputation, has scarcely ever been collected at one time and in one institution." The fame of Transylvania went abroad, and numerous visitors, native and foreign, made pilgrimage to Lexington to honor, and to be honored by, the colleges. Governor Barry, President Monroe, and General Jackson were among Dr. Holley's distinguished guests. The Marquis de Lafayette wended his triumphal way to Lexington, where he was formally received at the university, in a glowing address by the president. Lord Stanley, Earl of Derby, also journeyed through the "blue grass" to interview the professors and study the workings of the wonderful backwoods institution of learning.

The college library was one of the largest and best in the United States. A portion of its classical and miscellaneous collection was selected by a no less competent

scholar than Edward Everett. The medical books were procured in Europe by Dr. Caldwell. The university possessed an anatomical museum, a cabinet of specimens in natural history, and a botanical garden.

In 1823 a literary society, called the Kentucky Institute, was established at Lexington. The membership was limited to twenty-four, and half of these were college professors. It was a rule of the society that at least one essay or paper should be read and discussed every week. Some of the themes presented were: "The Manufacture of Pottery Earthenware and China in Kentucky," by Charles Humphreys; "The Manufactory of Whisky and Gin," by the same; "The Shawanoe Nation" and "Geology of Kentucky," by Prof. Rafinesque; "The Peculiar Manners of the Inhabitants of North Virginia," by Dr. Holley; "The Theory of Language," by Mr. Butler; "The Atomic Theory," by Mr. Best; "The Influence of Climate upon Character," by Dr. Drake; "Roads and Schools in the West," by Mr. R. Wickliffe.

In 1827 Dr. Holley resigned, on account of violent objection to his theological views. Dr. Alva Woods, D.D., who had been at the head of Brown University, was called to the Kentucky institution, and though he was an able man, the literary department of Transylvania steadily declined. The palmy days of the college had already passed. Sectarian differences divided public sentiment. The Presbyterians centered their forces at Danville, where Center College and the Theological School, incorporated in January, 1819, soon rose to prominence. From 1842 to 1849, Transylvania University was a Methodist College, under the presidency of the influential Rev. Henry Bascom. In 1849 the state resumed control of the institution, which, in 1856, was reorganized with a normal department, under the charge of Rev. L. W. Green. But the college did not flourish. After a languishing existence of ten years, it was merged into Kentucky University in 1865.

The alumni of old Transylvania are numbered by hundreds, and many of them won distinction in public life,

and in the professions of law, medicine and journalism. Jefferson Davis was a son of this Lexington "alma mater," having taken his degree in 1824.

Among the prominent graduates may be mentioned Dr. Joseph Buchanan, Dr. Benj. W. Dudley, Wm. T. Barry, Jesse Bledsoe, Richard M. Johnson, Chas. S. Morehead, Thomas F. Marshall, Chas. A. Wickliffe, Richard H. Menifee and John Rowan.

We linger, with peculiar interest, upon the early history of Transylvania. A Kentucky annalist has truly and impressively written that in the first years of its career the college "was often disturbed by the yell of the Indian and the crack of his rifle," and that "troops were almost constantly needed for defense, and even the women and children had to bear their part in defending the settlements against savages. The roll of the drum called many a youth from the quiet of the school-house, and the turbulence of the times often forced him to exchange books for rifle and tomahawk."

But the college grew apace, and the town of Lexington led the march of western civilization. When Kentucky became a state, Lexington was made the capital. In the year 1800, when Cincinnati could claim a population of only 750, her southern rival had 2,000.

Writing of Lexington in 1815, Timothy Flint says: "It is not so large and flourishing as Cincinnati, but has an air of leisure and opulence that distinguishes it from the busy bustle and occupation of that town. In the circles where I visited, literature was most commonly the subject of conversation. The window-seats presented the blank covers of the new and most interesting publications. The best modern works had been generally read. The university, which has since become so famous, was, even then (1815), taking a higher standard than the other seminaries in the western country. There was generally an air of ease and politeness in the social intercourse of the inhabitants of this town, which evinced the cultivation of taste and good feeling."

In the Literary Gazette of March, 1824, the editor, John

P. Foote, complainingly wrote: "It is certainly a source of regret that the talents, learning, and enterprise which should have been employed by us, in rearing up our own institutions, should be transferred to a rival town, and thus become a means of rendering the State of Ohio tributary to Lexington."

With her polite families, her professors, her Henry Clay,[1] her schools, libraries, books and periodicals, Lexington was a center of culture. For many years the town outranked Cincinnati even as a mart. A rivalry, social and intellectual, was kept up between the two places. Lexington claimed to be the "Athens of the West." A traveler, writing of Cincinnati in 1815 says: "Efforts to promote polite literature have already been made in this town. If its only rival, Lexington, be, as she contends, the 'Athens of the West,' this place is struggling to become its Corinth." But as years went by, the commercial importance of the Ohio city rapidly increased, and her citizens called her neither "Athens" nor "Corinth," but "Tyre." "Come, pass round the bowl," wrote a Queen City bard in 1823,

> "Come, pass round the bowl; let us drink to the health
> Of this city, the depot of beauty and wealth;
> For we boast, do we not, of our city's success,
> And hail in full bumpers, 'The Tyre of the West.'"

But Lexington, proud in her classic pre-eminence, derided even the mercantile Tyrian claims of her rival, and Cincinnati bided her time. As late as 1827 the "Western Review," issued from the "Tyre of the West," while claiming great glory for its own city, was forced to admit that "Perhaps there is no town in the United States where, among an equal number of people, so many will be found able and disposed to join in a literary conversation as in Lexington. There is, in fact, a rough-shod energy of intellect diffused over all 'Old Kentucky,' which when properly trained will make her as fruitful in literature as she is now in flour and tobacco."

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[1] Clay, born in Virginia in 1777, came to Kentucky in 1797.

The first white people who settled on the north side of the Ohio—the "Indian side," as pioneers called it—formed institutions, social and civil, after the New England model, and strove to impress the stamp of Puritan ideas on family, school, church, and government. Their preliminary task was to cut trees, provide shelter, kill Indians, and plant seeds. Carlyle, in one of his picturesque letters to Emerson, writes: "How beautiful to think of lean, tough Yankee settlers, tough as gutta-percha, with most occult, unsubduable fire in their belly, steering over the western mountains, to annihilate the jungle, and bring bacon and corn out of it for the posterity of Adam. The pigs in about a year eat up all the rattlesnakes for miles around; a most judicious function on the part of the pigs. Behind comes Jonathan with his all-conquering plowshare—glory to him, too!"

Jonathan brought all of himself along when he steered over the mountains; brought brain to direct muscle, brought principles with his plow, and while speculation was in his eye it did not render him indifferent to public duty. As Massachusetts began her career with advantages not enjoyed in England, so Ohio, the "Yankee State," or "New England of the West," was organized under circumstances more fortunate than had surrounded the colonists of the East.

The territory north-west of the Ohio was dedicated to liberty without reserve—to complete liberty, civil and religious.

The Ordinance of 1787 was a new mold, in which were cast freer and better institutions than before had been devised. Therefore, the people of this region escaped the blighting influence of imported crimes, bigotries, and superstitions, that afflicted the inhabitants of the East and the South.

The Ordinance of 1787 places freedom, religion, morality, and knowledge, as the corner-stones of civilization. The third article declares that "religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and to the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of edu-

cation shall forever be encouraged." The constitution of Ohio reiterates: "But religion, morality, and knowledge being essentially necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of instruction shall forever be encouraged by legislative provisions, not inconsistent with the rights of conscience."

Ex-president R. B. Hayes said eloquently, in a speech at the Marietta centennial, in 1888: "Putnam and his followers were the best educated men the world ever knew. For eight years, from 1775 to 1783, they went to school to George Washington." Manasseh Cutler, the prime promoter of the Ohio Company, though he did not "go to school to George Washington," was educated by the Revolution, and was also a man learned in books and the art of speech. He was an excellent and exact scholar, and practical teacher. The cause of liberal education lay very near to his heart. To Congress he said, when urging such legislation as would insure the best good to the Ohio Company: "If we venture our all, with our families, in this enterprise, we must know beforehand what kind of foundation we are to build on." In his sermon of August 24, 1788, to the settlers at Marietta, he said: "An early attention to the instruction of youth is of the greatest importance to a new settlement. It will lay the foundations for a well regulated society. It is the only way to make subjects conform to its laws and regulations from principles of reason and custom rather than fear of punishment."

From the inception of the plan to colonize Ohio, Cutler cherished an enthusiastic idea of founding a noble institution of learning in the new country. His views were disseminated by means of a pamphlet, from which the following extract is taken: "In the late ordinance of Congress for disposing of the western lands as far down as the Scioto, the provision that is made for schools and the endowment of an university, looks with a most favorable aspect upon the settlement, and furnishes the presentiment that, by proper attention to the subject of education, under these advantages, the field of science may be greatly

enlarged, and the acquisition of useful knowledge placed upon a more respectable footing here than in any other part of the world. Besides the opportunity of opening a new and unexplored region for the range of natural history, botany, and the medical science, there will be an advantage which no other part of the world can boast, and which probably will never occur again; that, in order to begin *right*, there will be no *wrong* habits to combat, and no inveterate systems to overturn—there is no rubbish to remove before laying the foundations."

Again, the sagacious and indefatigable Cutler, looking forward, with great expectation, to the good of the future, wrote to Samuel Putnam, in July, 1789, saying: "So far as I have had opportunity, I have consulted the charters of public seminaries in Europe and America. Those in our own country are generally the most modern, and the best adapted to the purposes intended; but none appear to me to accord with a plan so liberal and extensive as I think ought to be the foundation of the constitution of this university." The university here alluded to was that which Cutler proposed, and, in large part, founded, in Ohio—the first college north-west of the Ohio river. The name originally suggested for it was the "American University." Cutler discussed the subject in these words: "There is a Columbian College, and a Washington College, etc., already in this country, but no *American* College. I hope the name will not be altered."

Such utterances prove that to the practical men who built the first villages and tilled the first farms on the north side of the Ohio, this about education was not a mere flourish of words. Fulfilling to the letter the spirit of the organic law, Congress, granting public lands, endowed Ohio University, at Athens, Ohio. Says a historian of the college: "It was the first example in the history of our country of the establishment and endowment of an institution of learning by the direct agency of the general government." The honor of it belongs chiefly to Manasseh Cutler, and, in the next degree, to Rufus Putnam.

The institution was to be called the American Western

University, but when established by act of the Ohio legislature, February 18, 1804, the less ambitious name was adopted. The original building, called the academy, a two-story brick house, about twenty-four feet by thirty, built in 1808–9, was for ten years the only edifice belonging to the university. The present main building dates from 1817.

The first academic degree bestowed in Ohio was conferred by Ohio University, in 1815, upon Thomas Ewing, afterward a distinguished United States senator and member of the cabinet. Ewing was "self-made," sold coonskins to buy books, which he read aloud in the fields, earned money by hiring as a boatman on the Ohio river, labored in the Kanawha salt works, and so climbed the ladder of success. A correspondent from Athens writes me: "The woods around here are full of characteristic stories of him."

Governor Edward Tiffin was the first president of the university board.

Rev. James Irvine, the first president of the college, was succeeded, in 1824, by Rev. Robert G. Wilson, D.D., and he, in 1839, by Rev. Wm. H. McGuffey, LL.D.

Many of the graduates of Ohio University rose to eminence in the professions of law or divinity; but the college is peculiarly distinguished for the large number of noted educators it has sent and is sending forth, annually, from its famous pedagogical department. Among the teachers who were taught at Athens may be mentioned: Dr. Daniel Read (born 1805, died 1878), who at the time of his death was "the oldest college teacher in continuous service in the United States," and whose professional services were enjoyed in turn by four state universities; Dr. Elisha Ballantyne, of Indiana, who devoted fifty years to teaching in university and college; Dr. Lorenzo Dow McCabe, distinguished as clergyman, professor and author; Dr. James M. Safford, the geologist; Hon. Charles Sheldon Smart, school commissioner of Ohio in 1874; and Dr. Wm. H. Scott, now president of the Ohio State University.

The Ohio Company, in their contract with Congress in 1787, stipulated that two townships of land should be donated by the general government for the endowment of a college. The townships of Athens and Alexander were chosen, consisting of 46,000 acres of land.

The Miami Purchase made by John Cleves Symmes, also in the year 1787, provided for the grant of a township of land, by Congress, for the support of an institution of learning in what is now South-western Ohio. The land was selected and located in 1803, at Oxford, Butler county. The proposed college, named Miami University, was chartered February 18, 1809. A grammar school was established on the site of the contemplated college in 1818, and the university itself was organized in 1824. Hundreds of ambitious young men, trained at Oxford, went forth carrying the enthusiasm which begets its like, and which kindled a desire for culture in other hundreds toiling on solitary farm or in bustling village. The first commencement was held in 1826, when a class of twelve graduated. Among the distinguished names on the long list of men who were students at old Miami University are those of President Benjamin Harrison, Hon. Robert C. Schenck, Freeman G. Cary, Governor Charles Anderson, Hon. Samuel S. Galloway, Hon. Wm. M. Corry, Hon. Wm. S. Groesbeck, Hon. Samuel F. Cary, Governor William Dennison, James G. Birney, Judge Jacob Burnet, Hon. Wm. M. Dickson, Hon. Whitelaw Reid, Dr. David Swing, Hon. John P. Craighead, Hon. Milton Sayler, Hon. C. F. Brown, Hon. D. W. McClung, Hon. Samuel F. Hunt, Hon. John W. Caldwell, Judge W. M. Oliver, Hon. J. J. Faran, Mr. R. W. Steele, and many others who are well known to history.

The first president of the college, Robert Hamilton Bishop, D.D., a Presbyterian minister, was born in North Britain in 1777, and came to the United States in 1802. For a time he resided in Kentucky, and was a professor in Transylvania University. He was made president of Miami University March 30, 1825, and remained at the head of the institution until 1841, when he resigned. Dr.

Bishop was honored and loved by his many papils from every part of the Ohio Valley. The venerable Barnabas Hobbs, himself a distinguished educator of Indiana, once school commissioner of that great state, pleasantly relates that he, a green, awkward lad, impelled by an unconquerable desire to see what a college was like, went to Oxford, with a note of introduction to the president. The doctor was not home, but his amiable wife welcomed the bashful boy to the parlor and also to the dining-table, introducing him to her "baby," a pretty girl of about fourteen. When Dr. Bishop came in, he received the note of introduction with a cheery smile and a sociable "Well, well, well," which at once put the visitor at his ease.

Not less able, and perhaps more distinguished than Dr. Bishop, was his son, Prof. R. H. Bishop, who, from 1838 to the date of his death in 1890, was a most eminent teacher in the college which his father's energy made famous. Prof. Bishop was born near Lexington, Ky., August 20, 1815. He came to Oxford in 1824, and graduated in 1831. For about a year he was professor of mathematics in Hanover College, Indiana. Returning to Oxford in 1835, he became proprietor of a book-store and printing office, and carried on business until 1838, in which year he entered the grammar school of Miami University as teacher. He was subsequently elected professor of Latin in the university.

On the twenty-second of March, 1889, Prof. Bishop and his wife celebratad their fiftieth wedding anniversary, receiving the spoken or written congratulations of a host of friends, one of whom was the President of the United States. A gentleman who witnessed the interesting event made the following suggestive notes regarding it: "The anniversary to-day was in the same house where Prof. Bishop's father, then president of Miami, lived. After their wedding, Mr. and Mrs. Bishop went from Oxford to Hamilton by stage, thence to Cincinnati on the canal packet. When they returned to Oxford they entered the same room where they to-day received their guests. A

log fire burned in the grate to-day, as it did then, and the highly polished andirons of fifty years ago smiled to-day upon that same old-fashioned but ever cheerful burning log."

One of the first popular institutions of learning of Cincinnati was Lancaster Academy, which was opened Monday, March 27, 1815. A suitable building was constructed on Fourth street, near Walnut, and the school was organized by Mr. Emund Harrison, who had been converted to the "monitorial system" by a pupil of Joseph Lancaster himself, while that unfortunate reformer was sojourning in Philadelphia. Within a fortnight after the opening of the seminary, 420 pupils were admitted. One of these was Wm. D. Gallagher, the poet.

On January 22, 1819, Lancaster Academy was chartered, with university privileges, under the name of Cincinnati College. To the literary department, schools of medicine and law were soon added, with strong faculties, and the college came into rivalry with Transylvania and Miami Universities. But it presently languished, and, in 1825, suspended operations, and the rooms were rented to private teachers. In 1832 an appeal to the public for the revival of the college was published, signed by Morgan Neville, president of the board, and P. S. Symmes, secretary, but without success. The institution, however, was resuscitated in 1835, with Wm. H. McGuffey[1] as president.

[1] William Holmes McGuffey, D.D., was born in Pennsylvania in 1800, and he died in Virginia, in 1873. He came in childhood to Trumbull county, Ohio, where he lived on a farm. He was educated in Washington College, but in 1826, before finishing his course, he was called to Miami University as professor of ancient languages. In 1829 he was licensed as minister of the Presbyterian Church. In 1832 he was appointed to the chair of mental philosophy. In 1836 he resigned his position in Miami University, and was called to the presidency of Cincinnati College. Three years later he was elected president of Ohio University. He resigned in 1843, and returning to Cincinnati, became a professor in Woodward College, but was called from this position, in 1845, to the chair of moral philosophy in the University of Virginia. A life crowded with useful duties, and fragrant with noble results! Not least, but probably greatest of his services to education, was the preparation of the series of school readers that go by his name. These were compiled in the true spirit of an apostle of culture. It is no exaggeration to say that millions of children have been favorably influenced in

Doctor McGuffey was aided in Cincinnati College by Professors O. M. Mitchel, Asa Drury, E. D. Mansfield, and others. Lyman Harding[1] was principal of the preparatory department. He cheerfully speaks of himself as being the last of the old college faculty "above ground." Cincinnati College retains its charter privileges, but its only actual department is the law school, of which General Jacob D. Cox is now dean.

When Doctor Cutler projected a great "American University" for the North-west, he contemplated the centralization of educational forces in one commanding institution of learning. But the theory and practice which prevailed in the application of the democratic idea to education, led to diffusion rather than concentration, and produced many small colleges instead of a few large ones. Ohio is distinguished for the number of her educational foundations. At least eight of her colleges were established within a third of a century from the organization of the state. Three of these have been mentioned. "Kenyon College," starting as a theological seminary in 1824, was chartered as a college in 1826. In the latter year "Western Reserve College" was incorporated. A charter was granted to Granville College, now Dennison University, in 1832; to Oberlin, in 1834; and to Marietta College in 1835. A most delightful narrative, entitled "How the Bishop Built his College in the Woods," recounting the story of the founding of Kenyon, may be read in "Pencilled Fly-Leaves,"[2] a book of essays by the poet John James Piatt, an alumnus of the college.

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morals and intellect by the happy literary selections in these books. McGuffey's old "Rhetorical Guide" has led many a youth to the sources of "sweetness and light."

[1] Lyman Harding a highly esteemed citizen of Cincinnati, for many years connected with the post-office, was born at Cazenovia, N. Y., in 1815. He graduated from Miami University in 1833. He was for six years superintendent of public schools in Cincinnati. A man of noble aspect, he has a correspondingly noble character, fruitful of good deeds.

[2] Pencilled Fly-Leaves. A Book of Essays in Town and Country. "How the Bishop Built his College in the Woods," etc. By John James Piatt. 16mo.

The planting of educational institutions, once fairly begun, went on rapidly in the states formed out of the North-western Territory.

Though Indiana never had a school within her borders until after General Clark, the "Hannibal of the West," conquered the North-west, she was not much behind Ohio in carrying out the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787 in respect to education. The first school in the territory was opened at Vincennes about the year 1793, by M. Rivet, who is described in "The Schools of Indiana" as a polite, liberal-minded missionary, who was driven out of Europe by the French Revolution.

Vincennes University, like its predecessor at Athens, Ohio, was endowed by a reservation of Congress lands. It was chartered by the territorial legislature of Indiana, September 17, 1807, and located at the old town of Vincennes. Wm. Henry Harrison was a member of the board of trustees.

It is not the purpose of this chapter even to outline the history of the numerous colleges that sprung up in the West, mainly under the impulse of denominational zeal. The important work of recording their history has been undertaken by the Bureau of Education. Our object is merely to sketch the *beginnings* of educational activity in the Ohio Valley, and to suggest what were the motives, means, and methods of the pioneers of letters. The early colleges of Indiana, as Vincennes University, Hanover College, Wabash College; and those of Illinois, as Shurtliff, were not unlike their sister institutions of Kentucky and Ohio. In many instances college buildings were erected in the midst of the wilderness, repeating the history of the Bishop's log college in the Ohio woods. In 1832, the site was selected for Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Indiana, in the unbroken forest when the ground was covered with snow.

Judge James Hall, in the Western Magazine for April, 1834, thus speaks of the rise of Illinois College, which may be taken as a representative type: "It is but five or six years," says Judge Hall, "since we attended a

meeting at Jacksonville—then a hamlet of log houses—held in an unfinished building, where the company stood among the carpenter's chips and shavings, and when an institution was organized and called Illinois College. From this small beginning has arisen a valuable institution having a faculty consisting of a president and four other gentlemen and a list of eighty-two students. Their buildings are commodious and their prospects cheering."

Let it not be imagined that the curricula of the "fresh water" colleges of the new West were, like the buildings, of green material from the woods. Dr. Jas. H. Fairchild, president of Oberlin College, says:

"The general *course of study* in the earlier colleges of Ohio was the same essentially as that found in the colleges of the older states. Yale, Harvard, Dartmouth, and Princeton were the models after which our college took form. It was thought necessary that a student should be able to pass from his college in Ohio to one of the eastern colleges, entering *ad eundem*, and this was often accomplished. The material of the regular curriculum was the Latin and Greek classics, mathematics, involving physics and astronomy, chemistry and a touch of natural science, psychology, ethics, and English literature, with a limited packing of history and other specialties. It was a good solid course, and it may very reasonably be questioned whether any thing better has been discovered in our day."

Common school education, as it is now conceived—that is, primary instruction for the mass of children, was not possible in pioneer days. Even now in states where the public school system has been in operation for half a century, the rural districts are far behind the cities and towns in educational advantages. Almost the only efficient schools in the Ohio Valley in the early period of its history were located in centers of thick settlement, in enterprising villages—capitals and county seats. The purpose of the fathers when they chartered universities to be organized in the woods, before the Indians were out of

sight, seems to have been to afford ambitious youths an opportunity to fit themselves for intellectual leadership; and to keep alive and spread abroad the desire for learning until secondary and primary schools could be started in every settlement. They were guardians of the sacred flame. Though the whole people might not at first reap the harvest of education, the fittest young men could go forth and gather the sheaves that the seed should not be lost. Therefore, colleges were projected and academies were founded. In fact, the colleges, or universities as they were ambitiously called, began as preparatory academies, and many of the collegiate institutions of these central states yet retain a preparatory department, which is a survival of the original seminary out of which the college grew. Transylvania Seminary began its existence in 1783, fifteen years before it was chartered as a university. Twenty-seven years after Congress endowed Ohio University, that institution first conferred college degrees. Miami University served a probation of nine years as a preparatory school. Cincinnati College was a development of the Lancastrian Seminary, the first important academy of the Queen City. I have spoken of the organization of academies in Kentucky. The commonwealth of Ohio is known to have had at least two hundred academies. Indiana and Illinois were dotted with similar schools. The first half of the century was the golden age of private academies for boys and of "female seminaries."

The Ohio Company carrying out the provision of the great ordinance, that "schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged," established schools as soon as first settlers were housed and protected by forts. It is generally admitted that the first school in Ohio was taught at Belpre, by Miss Bathsheba Rouse, in the summer of 1789. A meeting of the agents and directors of the Ohio Company was held at Marietta in April, 1791, in which it was resolved to appropriate $160 to provide instruction for the children of Marietta, Belpre, and Waterford. The first school in Marietta was opened in

1789, at Campus Martius, in a block-house, used also as court-room and church. The first teacher, Major Anselm Tupper, was succeeded by Dr. Jabez True. Benjamin Slocumb and Jonathan Baldwin also taught in this accommodating place. Muskingum Academy, Marietta, was projected by General Putman in 1797, but was not opened until 1800. It was used as a place of instruction and of worship.

In the Rainbow Cemetery, seven miles above Marietta, on the west side of the Muskingum, stands a small monument bearing the following inscription:

"MRS. SARAH LAKE,
BORN AT BRISTOL, ENGLAND,
DIED AT RAINBOW, OHIO, APRIL 27, 1796,
Aged 68 years.

Mrs. Lake taught a Sunday School in the Blockhouse at Marietta from 1791 to 1795, the first school in Ohio and one of the first in the U. S.

This monument erected by the Sunday School Scholars of Washington Co., O., Oct. 1889."

At Belpre a school was opened in Colonel Battell's block-house, Farmer's Castle, and taught by Daniel Mayo, a Harvard alumnus.

Rufus Putnam wrote to Manasseh Cutler, from Marietta, in 1790: "There are several academies in the neighboring parts of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky, where the Latin and Greek are taught, and the Muskingum Academy at Marietta is at present, and, I trust, will always in the future be supplied with a master capable of teaching the languages, and I think it can not be long before Latin schools are established in several other places in the territory." Judge James Hall records in his "Romance of Western History," that the "Classical School" was among the earliest institutions of Virginia and Kentucky, that "in rude huts were men teaching not merely the primer, but expounding the Latin poets, and explaining to future lawyers and legislators and generals the severe truths of moral and mathematical science. Many a student who was preparing himself for the bar or the pulpit, held up

the lamp to younger aspirants for literary usefulness and honor, in those primitive haunts, while the wolf barked in the surrounding thickets and the Indians were kept at bay."

Cincinnati has cause to honor the schoolmaster. To him she is indebted for much of the best that she is and has.

William Goforth, whom George Washington commissioned one of the judges of the Territorial Court of the North-western Territory, came to Columbia [Cincinnati] in January, 1790. He kept a diary, a brief chronicle of pioneer events, from which I quote what has been quoted often: "November 2, 1792. Last Monday night met at my house, to consult on the expediency of founding an academy, Rev. John Smith, Major Gano, Mr. Dunlavy"—afterward judge of the Court of Common Pleas—"and myself. Wednesday night, met at Mr. Reily's school-house"—Mr. Reily, then the teacher, was for many years clerk of Butler Common Pleas and Supreme Court—"to digest matters respecting the academy. The night being bad and but few people attending, postponed until next night, which was 1st of November. Met at Mr. Reily's to appoint a committee."

John Reily's, at Columbia, was the first school-house in Cincinnati, and in the North-western Territory. Reily, a young man of twenty-seven, started a subscription school there June 21, 1790. Symmes and Filson were ex-teachers when they came to the Miami country. Reily was an ex-soldier, who had fought at Camden, Guilford and Eutaw. He migrated from Pennsylvania to Lexington, Ky., and thence to Columbia. In 1791 Francis Dunlevy, a Virginian, thirty years old, who had also been a revolutionary soldier, and a Kentucky settler, came to Columbia and joined Reily in the work of education, organizing a classical department in the school. Tradition does not tell us what manner of pedagogues this pair of veterans made, or what system of new education they practiced. We are tolerably safe in assuming that they flogged the boys, a mode of punishment that Canon Kingsley considered the

best of all. Be that as it may, the educational firm of Reily & Dunlevy was maintained for about two years, when Reily withdrew, and then Dunlevy carried on the school for some years alone.

Not long did the Columbia school remain without rivals. In 1792 a school was gathered in a log school-house near Fort Washington. A frame school-house was erected in 1795 on the north side of Fourth street, between Walnut and Main, on the ground occupied afterward by the Lancastrian Seminary.

A Frenchman, Francis Menessier, opened a coffee-house at the foot of the hill on Main street, in 1799, where he taught the French language and sold liquors and pies.

The following advertisement, copied from the Western Spy, of date October 22, 1799, gives some idea of the state of education in the metropolis of the Ohio Valley at the end of her first decade:

"ENGLISH SCHOOL.—The subscriber informs the inhabitants of this town that his school is this day removed, and is now next door to Mr. Thomas Williams, skin-dresser, Main Street. Gentlemen who have not subscribed may send their scholars on the same terms as the subscribers, (commencing this day). He also intends to commence an evening school in the same house on the third day of November next, where writing and arithmetic, &c., will be taught four evenings in each week, from 6 to 9 o'clock, during the term of three months. The terms for each scholar will be two dollars, the scholars to find firewood and candles. He also furnishes deeds and indentures, &c., on reasonable terms. JAMES WHITE."

Advertisements in the Spy set forth the superior advantages of a rival school in Newport, Ky., conducted by Robert Stubbs, Philomath, an English gentleman, who thus announces:

"The subscriber intends opening his academy on Monday next at his farm, two miles from the Ohio, opposite

Cincinnati, Campbell County, Ky., where he will teach English grammar, Latin, Greek, arithmetic—all the most useful and some of the ornamental branches of mathematics.

"The situation of his academy is known to be healthy. Good board can be had in the neighborhood.

"Should he be so fortunate as to obtain young gentlemen of genius, united with diligence in their studies, he flatters himself, from his long approved and successful habits of teaching, not only in England, but during many years in America, that he will gratify the most ardent expectations of those who may honor him with the tuition of their sons. He will have an assistant teacher for the lower forms, so that his time will be almost wholly occupied amongst the students of the higher classes, who are to have a separate apartment to themselves.

"Should any feel inclined, he will also teach the use of the globes, at stated periods in Cincinnati. His terms may be known by application to ROBERT STUBBS."

"The following gentlemen are trustees to the abovementioned academy, viz: Washington Berry, Charles Morgan, John Grant, Thomas Kennedy, Thomas Sanford, Thomas Carneal, Richard Southgate, Daniel Mayo, Robert Stubbs, James Taylor and Bernard Stuart, who will pay strict attention to the regulations and management of the same. WASHINGTON BERRY, *Chairman.*"

In 1804, the following appeared in one of the Cincinpapers:

"NOTICE.—The public in general, and my former subscribers in particular, are respectfully informed that I purpose to commence *school* again on the 1st day of January, 1805. I shall teach reading, writing, arithmetic and English grammar, indiscriminately, for two dollars per quarter. The strictest care will be given to the school, as my circumstances will then admit of my constant presence with the school. Those who place confidence in my abil-

ities and fidelity may be assured that both will be employed to please the parents who shall commit, and benefit the children who shall be committed to my care.

"EZRA SPENCER."

Dr. Drake, in his "Picture of Cincinnati," records the brief history of a school association formed in 1806, and incorporated in 1807, under the name of Cincinnati University. "Its endowments," wrote the Doctor, "were not exactly correspondent to its elevated title, consisting of only moderate contributions, and an application was made to the legislature for permission to raise money by a lottery, which was granted. A scheme was formed and a great part of the tickets sold. They have, however, not been drawn, and but little of the money which they brought refunded. On Sunday, May 28, 1809, the school-house erected by the corporation was blown down, since which it has become extinct." Drake tells us that in the year 1811 "ten or twelve individuals purchased a small lot, erected a couple of school-houses, and employed two or three teachers. But notwithstanding their laudable exertions this academy has not flourished."

Had the people waited to build college and academy walls before entering upon the work of educating their youth, an ignorant generation would have grown up in the Valley of the Ohio. They did not wait. They made tentative provision for schooling youth. Not in every new settlement was a school-house built as in Lexington, nor a John McKinney found in the woods ready to kill the wild-cats and tame the wild children. The seat of instruction was frequently a room within a block-house. Not seldom the pioneer place of worship served also as a school-room, especially in the neighborhoods settled by new England families. Cabins originally occupied as places of residence, when abandoned by their owner for better homes, were often made over to the public for the accommodation of the school-keeper and the school he kept. Any hut or hovel was considered available for educational purposes. Dr. Daniel Drake, a distinguished pioneer, tells

us that he went to school in a Kentucky still-house. Rev. John Mason Peck, writing of the hardships of frontier life in Southern Illinois, in early days, says: "The opportunity for these Illinois pioneers to educate their children was extremely small. If the mother could read, while the father was in the corn-field, or with his rifle upon the range, she would barricade the door to keep off the Indians, gather her little ones around her, and, by the light that came in from the crevices in the roof and sides of the cabin, she would teach them the rudiments of spelling from the fragments of some old book. Even after schools were taught, the price of a rough and antiquated copy of Dillworth's Spelling Book was one dollar, and the dollar equal to five now."

Timothy Flint, describing the North Carolina school-house in which Daniel Boone learned his letters, says it "stood as a fair sample of thousands of west country school-houses of the year 1834. It was of logs, after the usual fashion of the time and place. In dimensions, it was spacious and convenient. The chimney was peculiarly ample, occupying one entire side of the building, which was an exact square. Of course, a log as long as the building could be 'snaked' to the fire-place, and a file of boys could stand in front of the fire on a footing of the most democratic equality. Sections of logs cut out here and there admitted light and air instead of windows. The surrounding forest furnished ample supplies of fuel. A spring at hand, furnished with various gourds, quenched the frequent thirst of the pupils. A ponderous puncheon door, swinging on substantial wooden hinges, and shutting with a wooden latch, completed the appendages of this primeval seminary."

It appears that the frequent "thirst" of the Irish master of this school was not quenched from a gourd dipped into the spring, but from a bottle of whisky which the bibulous Hibernian kept hidden under a mat of vines in the greenwood.

The picture of the Boone school-house is matched by that of the log-cabin on the Virginia "slashes," in which

Henry Clay was taught the rudiments by an English school-master, who, says Carl Schurz, "passed under the name of Peter Deacon—a man of uncertain past, and somewhat given to hard drinking."

Lincoln, writing his experience as a boy, said of Perry county, Indiana: "It was a wild region with many bears and other wild animals still in the woods. There were some schools, so-called, but no qualification was ever required of a teacher beyond 'readin', writin', and cypherin' to the Rule of Three.' If a straggler, supposed to understand Latin, happened to sojourn in the neighborhood, he was looked upon as a wizard. There was absolutely nothing to excite ambition for education."

Those familiar with the history of education in Ohio, will recall Jeremiah N. Reynold's description of the schoolhouse in which his preceptor, Francis Glass, author of the Life of Washington, in Latin, expended enthusiasm and erudition upon a mob of Buckeye urchins. "The schoolhouse now rises fresh on my memory," wrote Mr. Reynolds. "The building was a low log-cabin, with a clapboard roof, but indifferently lighted—all the light of heaven found in this cabin came in through apertures made on each side of the logs, and these were covered with oiled paper, to keep out the cold air, while they admitted the dim rays. The seats or benches were of hewn timber, resting on upright posts placed in the ground to keep them from being overturned by mischievous lads who sat on them. In the center was a large stove, between which and the back part of the building stood a small desk, without lock or key, made of rough plank over which a plane had never passed, and behind this desk sat Professor Glass when I entered his school. There might have been forty scholars present; twenty-five of these were engaged in spelling, reading, and writing; a few in arithmetic; a small class in English grammar; and a half dozen, like myself, had joined the school for instruction in Greek and Latin."

The evolution of the modern highly "differentiated," and often palatial school edifice, from its humble proto-

type of pioneer days, is wonderful. The low-eaved, "chinked," and "mud-daubed" hut, with clap-board roof, stick chimney, greased paper window, latch-stringed door, with no floor but the natural clay of the earth, was certainly as primitive as can be conceived. Such a school-house stood in Zanesville, Ohio, in 1805, containing within it a large stump which served admirably for a "dunce-block." On one occasion, Mr. Samuel Herrick, a teacher in this educational institution, was foiled in his attempt to flog an incorrigible boy, who, weasel-like, resorted to the expedient of crawling under the lower log in the cabin and escaping into the free forest. The first developed form of school architecture gave place to an improved structure of hewn logs, with puncheon floor, stone chimney, and some attempt at clumsy furniture. This type of school-house is not yet extinct in Ohio. A few specimens of the pioneer pinfold for pupils may still be seen, though I am not aware that any log-cabin is now used in the state for school purposes. As one views the tumbled ruins of such a relic of the past, he is reminded of the Anglo-Saxon word for school-master, namely, "child-herd." Our fathers and mothers were herded and sheltered in wooden pens, but they were often fed on the bread of life.

James K. Parker, an honored educator, now past three score and ten, but still teaching in Clermont county, Ohio, graphically described in a private letter the log school-houses in which he began his studies. "The first two were built of round logs, chinked with blocks of wood, and daubed with clay mortar. The roofs were of split clap-boards, weighted down with small logs. The third I helped to build. It was of hewn logs chinked with stone, and more neatly daubed with clay. The chimney was built of stone laid in lime and sand mortar. The others were what was known as "cat and clay chimneys." The floor was of boards; many were of puncheon—*i. e.*, split and hewn. Our seats were long benches made of slabs, with long pegs for legs. Our writing-desks were long, broad boards, resting on long pegs inserted in the

log walls. The next log above this shelf was either left out in the building, or sawed out afterward. In this long space was inserted sash, one light wide, filled either with glass or oiled paper. The writing seats were usually so high that our feet did not touch the floor. There were no such things as supports for the back. Our ink was mostly home made—from oak-bark ooze and copperas. Our pens were all made from goose-quills, and our paper unruled; each pupil ruled for himself, with a plummet made of common metallic lead. Copies were all set by hand. I never saw ruled paper until I had been a teacher several years, nor a letter envelope until this academy (The Clermont) was eight years old. My first steel pen cost me 25 cents. My first box of lucifer matches (100), while I was at South Hanover College, cost 18¾ cents—postage on a letter from home the same price."

Many of the backwoods teachers were Irish, others Scotch, others English. Often they were adventurers, adrift upon the world—fair scholars it might be, but worthless men—impecunious, and addicted to the pipe and the bottle, like Boone's preceptor, and Henry Clay's. The drinking habit appears to have been a pedagogical qualification exceedingly prevalent. An old gentleman in Vevay, Indiana, told me that it was not uncommon, in the days of his boyhood, for a school-teacher to manifest his goodwill toward the big boys by freely offering them the use of pipes and tobacco, and also the refreshment of an occasional draught from his whisky jug. E. D. Mansfield records that one of his teachers made the school half tipsy with cherry-bounce. So, we see, time has changed public sentiment on the question of nicotine and alcohol. I imagine that such jolly pedagogues as Master Halfpenny and Peter Deacon thought little on the subject of "temperance physiology."

In the course of time, foreign teachers lost popularity, or rather they were ousted by the pervasive Yankee schoolmaster, who asserted himself in the western wilderness, claiming almost a monopoly of the business, and giving

to the "people's colleges," a decidedly New England character.

The method of "getting up" a school in the period preceding the mode by taxation and the appropriation of public funds, was this: The applicant for a school would draw an article of agreement, stating what branches he was able to teach, and for what rate of compensation. This paper was passed around from house to house for signatures, and subscriptions payable partly in money and partly in "produce." The tuition of the children of the poor was paid customarily by public-spirited individuals of comfortable fortune. The school terms were usually short, from ten to fifteen weeks of six days each; but the daily sessions were very long, extending over eight and even ten hours.

I scarcely need allude to the custom of "boarding round," which prevailed long before and long after the memorable days of Ichabod Crane. It was a custom that came from the East. It had this advantage, that it enabled the teacher to become well acquainted with his patrons, and them with him.

In the work of the school-room, not much system was used in management or method in instruction. The pupils brought to the school such books as they could obtain, or no books at all. A county judge in Warsaw, Kentucky, told me that his father learned the alphabet from a shingle upon which the letters were scrawled with charcoal. I find no reference to the use of the horn-book in the Ohio Valley. The slate susperseded that ancient device. Classification and grading were next to impossible; the scholars studied in their own way, with irregular and incidental help from the teacher. There were as many classes in a subject as there were pupils studying it. Ambitious farmer boys, "ciphering arithmetic," ran races to see who should first get through old "Pike." An odd miscellany of dog's-erred volumes came from cabin closets to furnish reading text. Happy he who possessed a copy of the English Reader, or the Columbian Orator. Wanting these, he must put up with Æsop's Fables, or Gulliver's Travels, or a Dream Book, or even a torn Almanac. The Bible

was in general use as a reading book, and numerous are the stories told of ludicrous blunders made by blockheads in pronouncing hard scripture words. At an uncertain hour, all hands engaged in scribbling copies which the master had "set" in advance, beginning with "pot-hooks," and ending with moral sentences in "round hand." With pen-knife sharpened to the keenest edge, the master skillfully fashioned into pens the goose-quills brought to his desk. But the culminating exercise was the spelling-match, which usually closed the duties of the day. The scholars, ranged in order along the walls, spelled or "missed" the words pronounced with syllabic precision by the master who stood with ferule in one hand, and Dillworth's Spelling Book in the other, like the genius of education holding up the emblems of power and knowledge. The spelling school at early candle lighting, that nocturnal annex to the social and scholastic day, is embalmed in Eggleston's story of the "Hoosier Schoolmaster."

The three R's—"readin', 'ritin', 'rithmetic," the *trivium* of a log-cabin course of study, are rudimental—basilar—essential. Where demand existed or was created for other branches, they were added, and manuals of information were forthcoming. In 1784, Jedediah Morse had prepared a text-book on Geography for the schools of New Haven. This was issued from a Boston press in 1789, and by the year 1811, it had passed through sixteen editions, and was in use in all the states. Lindley Murray's English Grammar held the field as a popular text-book until about 1830. The author was born in 1745 and died in 1826. Supply is ever swift to form the acquaintance demand, and competion is never long idle. Dillworth's field was soon invaded by Webster and Walker. Authors and compilers in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, put themselves to the task of supplying a "long-felt want," by preparing series upon series for the use of schools, and soon rival authors and publishers appeared in the West, in Lexington, Cincinnati, and elsewhere. In 1795, John Wood, of

New York, published the "Mentor, or American Teacher's Assistant." Dillworth's "Schoolmaster's Assistant" was of earlier origin. In 1811 was issued, in Philadelphia, William Duane's "Epitome of the Arts and Sciences, being a Comprehensive System of the Elementary Parts of a Useful and Polite Education;" Albert Picket's series of "American School Class Books," including works on spelling, reading, grammar, geography, and writing, came out early in the century, published by D. D. Smith, New York. "Gummere's Surveying," and James Ross's Latin Grammar, popular guides in their day, were not published until the year 1814.

The school books which I have just named or alluded to, and others from the Atlantic States, were used in the schools of the Ohio Valley, and stray copies of them may be found in old libraries and second-hand book-stores. They are now dead leaves, fallen from the deciduous tree of educational literature.

The history of school book authorship and publication in the Ohio Valley would furnish material for a long chapter. The local bibliographer discovers some curious instances of learned labor by backwoods scholars. The now rare Life of Washington, "Washingtonii Vita," in Latin, by Francis Glass, was submitted in manuscript to the faculties of Ohio University and of Cincinnati College for criticism, in 1824. In the same year, the erudite Dr. Martin Ruter published, in Cincinnati, a "Hebrew Grammar" of ninety-six pages, a surprising fact, when we consider that the "Sacred Language" was not at that time taught in the West. One of the first books composed and published in the Ohio Valley was an elaborate "History of Literature," by Watkins Tannehill (1787–1858), of Tennessee. Tannehill edited a literary paper called The Orthopolitan, in Nashville. As long ago as 1829, James Ruggles, of Cincinnati, published an original work on "Universal Language"—the "Volapuk" of the day.

Among the early publishers of school-books in Cincinnati were W. M. & O. Farnsworth, who, in six months, in the years 1826–7, issued 9,000 spelling books, 7,000 Mur-

ray's Introduction and English Readers, 600 English Grammars, 2,000 Arithmetics, 15,000 Primers, and 60,000 Almanacs. N. & G. Guilford also published school books. So did Morgan, Lodge & Fisher, and others. The newspaper offices long continued to be places of book publishing. Of early western text-books popular in their day, mention may be made of Ruter's Arithmetic, Locke's Grammar, and particularly, Kirkham's Grammar, a little book widely known and valued by our fathers. Lincoln learned grammar from Kirkham's book.

There lies before me as I write the conclusion of this chapter, a copy of "Dillworth's Schoolmaster's Assistant," almost a hundred years old. The frontispiece is a frightful wood-cut of the venerated Dillworth himself—frightful and grim. On one of the fly-leaves is written, in a sprawling hand, the inscription, "Martin Augspwiger, his assistant, Williamsburg, Virginia." What manner of man, what style of school-master was Martin? And how did "his assistant" find its way from Williamsburg to Cincinnati? Martin Augspwiger's queer name, perchance, exists only on a tombstone and on this dingy fly-leaf of old Dillworth's fossil book. But the names and the volume and its migration from Virginia to Ohio tell a suggestive story to him who has the fancy to repeople the past, and to reconstruct pioneer schools around a visible fragment of things that were.

The pioneer schools were the best that pioneer circumstances would allow. They gave boys and girls a start in life. The children learned in order to read, write, and cypher in practical ways. Harsh, crude, direct, were the instruction and the discipline. Among the branches not neglected by the teacher nor forgotten by the pupil were birch and hickory. The metaphor was, "give hickory oil." Flogging was a specific in well-nigh universal use both as cure and preventive. Our good fathers had to "toe the mark." But sometimes they got even with a despotic master by "barring him out" on Christmas, or smoking him in with burning sulphur, if he would not

come out, or even by ducking him in a pond, or such-like playful familiarity.

But, a hundred years ago, as now, and as will be a hundred years hence, the good teacher made a good school. There are always difficulties to overcome. Relatively, our ancestors did as well as we are doing now. Cadmus finds a dragon in his way, but Cadmus conquers, and founds his city, and dispenses arts and letters and laws.

CHAPTER VI.

THE VOICE OF THE PREACHER AND THE CLASH OF CREEDS.

"My Church! my Church! my dear old Church!
My fathers' and my own!
On Prophets and Apostles built,
And Christ the corner-stone!
All else beside, by storm or tide
May yet be overthrown;
But not my Church, my dear old Church,
My fathers' and my own!"

—*Gerberding.*

The voice of the preacher was heard in the western forest before political eloquence could command a hearing. As long ago as 1749, the French, taking possession of the Valley of the Ohio, planted the emblem of the Holy Catholic Church at many points, and the Jesuit priests scattered among their Indian converts numerous little silver crosses, specimens of which have often been found.

The French who founded missions in Southern Illinois in 1682, and in Indiana about twenty years later, were all Roman Catholic. A mission was established at Vincennes by Father Sebastian Meurin, perhaps in the year 1700. Henry S. Canthorn, in the Catholic Record, Indianapolis, says: "The first building erected for St. Francis Xavier's church was constructed of timbers set on end, and the interstices filled with adobe. It was built under the direction of the unknown Jesuit father who accompanied de Vincenne, when he came to build the fort in 1702. It was built before the fort, and many Indian converts assisted. It had a dirt floor, benches for seats and a very rude and plain altar. It had no windows, and no lights other than those upon the altar. The door was in the

north-west end, and faced the fort and river. The first church was located upon the site of the present cathedral." After the organization of the territory north-west of the Ohio river, and the introduction of courts, it appears that the new laws interfered somewhat with the customs of the Church. Mr. Dunn, in his history of Indiana, says that "Judge Symmes was considered a particularly dangerous heretic by the French settlers, because, in a charge to a grand jury in Wayne county, he had tried to persuade these Catholics that their payment of tithes and devotion of so much time to worship were neither enjoined by Scripture nor conducive to temporal welfare."

The Moravian missionaries, Heckewelder, Zeisberger, Sensemann, Edwards, Jung and Jungmann, had proclaimed the Gospel to the savages in the valley of the Muskingum for a number of years before the English came to Marietta.

The Moravian or "United Brethren" missionaries were, indeed, the first white people who established settlements within the limits of Ohio,[1] and Rufus King calls them the "Pilgrims of Ohio." As early as the year 1772, they founded on the Tuscarawas river their rude villages, one of which was piously named Gnadenhutten, the tents or huts of grace. Like the Quakers in Pennsylvania, the Moravians were kind to the Indians, and like the Jesuits, they strove to propagate Christianity. The ruthless destruction of their settlements by American soldiers is a blot on our history, but their self-sacrifice, even to death, illustrates the devotion to duty which is symbolized by the cross.

Rev. John Heckewelder was born at Bedford, England, in 1743; he came to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1756, and began missionary labors among the Indians in 1762. He was the founder of Salem on the Tuscarawas. During nineteen years he was a fellow worker with Zeisberger. Heckewelder died in 1823. He may be classed among the literary pioneers of the Ohio Valley, for his

[1] Some English traders had a store at *Pickawillany*, on the Big Miami, near Piqua, in 1752; but this can hardly be considered a settlement.

writings are of considerable importance. Dr. Wistar, of Philadelphia, induced him to publish, in 1819, his first work, "An Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the neighboring States." But his most important publication is, "A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians from 1740 to 1808, interspersed with Anecdotes, Historical Facts, Speeches of Indians, etc." This appeared in 1820.

Rev. David Zeisberger was born in Moravia in 1721, and he died in Ohio in 1808. Perhaps he may be considered chief of the Moravian Evangelists. "The Diary of David Zeisberger,"[1] presented to the Ohio Historical Society by Judge Ebenezer Lane, was translated, in 1885, by Eugene F. Bliss. It comprises two exceedingly interesting volumes, which, as the translator remarks, are as interesting from a psychological as a historical point of view. Mr. Bliss says: "The action of white men upon Indians, Christians upon heathen, the civilized upon savages, can well be studied in these pages. Here and there can be observed the re-action of the Indian upon the white."

I have found mention of Rev. David Jones, a Baptist missionary from New Jersey, who traveled in Ohio, in 1772 or 1773, and preached to the Indians. But, perhaps, the first Protestant preacher who ministered to a white congregation in the Ohio Valley was the Rev. John Lythe, of the Episcopal church, who, in the year 1775, conducted divine service in the shade of a majestic elm tree at Boonesborough, Kentucky. It was in the eventful year 1776 that the Rev. William Hickman, Sr., began to travel from station to station in the wilderness of Kentucky preaching to the settlers. He was a Baptist, the advance herald of a sect which has always outnumbered any other denomination in Kentucky. A principal reason why the Baptists came to the new state in large numbers

[1] The Diary of David Zeisberger, Moravian Missionary among the Indians of Ohio during the years 1781 to 1798. Translated from the Original Manuscript in German by Eugene F. Bliss. 2 vols. 8vo.

soon after the Revolution was, that they found in the West that freedom from religious persecution which even the law could not secure them in Virginia owing to the prejudices of the established church. We are told that "in 1780, Lewis Craig, one of the valiant champions of the dissenting cause, who was carried, singing, to prison in Fredericksburg, led the most of his church from Spottsylvania county, Virginia, to Gilbert's creek, in Garrard county, where a church was organized in the following year." Other Baptist congregations followed the leading of Craig; and thus the denomination was securely planted in the new country at a very early day. The blue-grass region received from the older states many immigrants holding Calvinistic creeds, the Rev. David Rice, a Presbyterian minister, being one of the first famous leaders of his sect. He began his sacred duties in Kentucky in the year 1783. The Roman Catholic church also gained a foothold in the state at about the same period, its founders being emigrants from Maryland. Interesting particulars, in regard to the planting of religious denominations in the South-west, may be found in Spencer's History of the Baptist Church in Kentucky, Davidson's History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, and Webb's Centenary History of Catholicity in Kentucky.

When we take up the story of how the church and the school were founded at Marietta, we seem to be reading some familiar history of a Puritan village in New England. The colonists who accompanied General Putnam to Ohio in 1788 were Presbyterians, and religious service was never neglected by them. Rev. Manasseh Cutler,[1] a director in the Ohio Company, and its chief founder, was a believer in "preachers and schoolmasters," and he made provision for bringing both to the Muskingum settlement. Nathaniel Rogers, a graduate of Harvard, came to Marietta in May, 1788, expecting to teach; but he returned to Massachusetts the same year. The Rev. William Breck

[1] Manasseh Cutler, LL.D. Life, Journal, and Correspondence of. By his Grandchildren, William P. Cutler and Julia P. Cutler. Portraits, etc. 2 vols. 8vo. Cincinnati.

is accredited with having preached the first sermon delivered in Ohio to white people. This was at Marietta, in July, 1788. Probably the second sermon preached at Marietta was a discourse by Dr. Cutler himself, who addressed the settlers assembled on the Campus Martius, on Sunday, August 24, 1788, some four months and a half after the landing of the Ohio Mayflower. Dr. Cutler, though he preserved a Puritan antipathy toward Jews and "infidels," was in spirit and practice a very liberal Christian. In his Marietta discourse, he proclaimed that the "sum total" of the Gospel is "comprehended in *love to God and man.*" He further declared, "We ought to allow others the same right of private judgment which we assume to ourselves." He added: "There are doubtless persons already here, who may be of different sentiments and different denominations. As the settlement advances they will enjoy the privilege, to which they are clearly entitled, of forming societies of their own persuasion. . . . Whatever you may hear which does not correspond with your own opinion, you are not obliged to receive as truth; perhaps, however, it may not be amiss to give it a candid examination, if nothing more; it may extend your acquaintance with the principles and faith of others, and you will set an example that may have a most happy effect in our present state." This tolerant attitude toward dissenting views characterizes the generous and enlightened mind, and is in contrast with the spirit ascribed to some of the preachers in the South by a recent history of Kentucky, which asserts that the early preachers of that state were generally "illiterate men," whose "crude logic and vigorous declamation met with great acceptation in a society where . . . religion meant the 'belonging' to some church, the earnest opposition to peculiar tenets of other sects, and the abstaining from certain capital violations of the law-and-order sentiment of the community." This conception of religion was not confined to one locality, nor has it yet quite disappeared from the minds of sectaries.

The first regular minister or chaplain of the Marietta colony was Rev. Daniel Story, a tall, slender young man

from Dartmouth College, who came west late in 1789, on the agreement that he was to receive his board and four silver dollars a week for his professional services. Story went back to Massachusetts, but in 1798 returned to Ohio, having been ordained as the first regular Congregational minister west of the Allegheny mountains. The charge of the ordination was delivered by Dr. Cutler, at Hamilton, Mass., August 15, 1798. Story continued pastor of the church until March 15, 1804, when he resigned on account of ill health. He died at Marietta, December 30, 1804, aged forty-nine years. There is a traditional homely comment current in old days, to the effect that Daniel Story "was like a cow that gave a good pail of milk and then kicked it over," the explanation of which simile is that he began his sermons with Arminian liberality of promise of salvation to all, but closed them with severely Calvinistic limitations.

Mr. Story preached once a month at Belpre, going to and from his appointment in a canoe. Service was conducted every Sunday at Belpre, after the old Puritan fashion, some layman reading a sermon aloud when no clergyman could be had. The services were held at the military quarters, Farmer's Castle. Sometimes the prayers were read according to the Episcopal form, but, as there were very few prayer books to be had, the ritual was followed with difficulty, and it is related that a certain bluff revolutionary soldier, who acted as chaplain, used to give, at proper times, with military promptness and sternness, the orders, "Read!" "Kneel!" "Rise!"

The congregation came together at the summons of a loud drum. This was at a date when the pillory, the stocks, and the whipping-post still maintained their places as instrumentalities of justice and adjuncts to religion. They came to Marietta and Cincinnati with the early immigrants.

The first church edifice in Marietta, a building planned by Samuel Putnam in 1807, is still standing, and is the regular place of worship for a Congregational society. It is known as the "two-horned" meeting-house, from the

pair of cupolas which arise, one from each corner of the end fronting the street. Many a celebrated preacher has officiated in its pulpit within the century, and many a famous lecturer has delivered his message from its high desk. The graduating classes of Marietta College have held their commencement exercises there annually for more than fifty years. Altogether, the old "two-horned" meeting-house is one of the most interesting historical buildings in the Ohio Valley. It is a permanent link uniting New England to Ohio.

Land grants issued in July, 1787, for educational purposes in the North-west, provided that "Lot No. 29, in each township or fractional part of township, be given perpetually for the purposes of religion." This favor was confined to the Ohio Company and to the Symmes Purchase.

The first settlers of the Miami country were not less zealous in religious observances than were the colonists of the Muskingum, though they organized a church of different denomination to begin with. When, on the morning of November 18, 1788, the adventurous party of twenty-six, led by Major Stites, landed, about sunrise, at Columbia, the first thing they did, after making fast their boat, was to sing a hymn of praise and to fall upon their knees and offer thanks to God. The Baptists of Columbia organized a church in January, 1790—the first church society in the state, it is claimed, and Rev. Stephen Gano was chosen pastor.

Memorial exercises celebrating the centennial of the first church erected in Cincinnati were held in the First Presbyterian Church, on Fourth street, October 14, 1890. On that occasion the Rev. F. C. Monfort, D.D., read a historical sketch to which I am indebted for particulars in regard to the founding of the first Presbyterian society and church edifice.

Religious services were held during the Summer of 1789, by the Presbyterians of Losantiville, in the shade of forest trees, or in the settler's cabins, or, sometimes, in a mill on Vine street below third. In October, 1790, Rev. David

Rice, mentioned on a preceding page as one of the fathers of Presbyterianism in Kentucky, came to Cincinnati and organized a church, of which Rev. James Kemper, then a theological student at Transylvania, was installed pastor a year later. Subscriptions were taken to defray the expenses of building a church, and the edifice was begun early in 1792. Dr. Monfort says:

"The building was of frame, 30 x 40 feet. It was occupied in the fall both as a church and court-room. Presbytery met in it October 21, 1792. It was not plastered until 1794, when another subscription paper was passed round. Judge Burnet, in his 'Sketches of the West,' thus describes it: 'It was inclosed with clapboards, but neither lathed, plastered, nor ceiled. The floor was of boat plank laid loosely on sleepers. The seats were of the same material supported on blocks of wood. There was a breastwork of unplained cherry boards, called the pulpit, behind which the clergyman stood on a piece of boat-plank resting on blocks of wood.'"

. . . . . .

"Mr. Kemper's pastorate closed in 1796. The church under his ministration had prospered. He was an earnest preacher and a fearless man. The journey from Cincinnati to Columbia, which he made every other Sabbath for several years, was one of danger. The woods were full of Indians, and it was a time of war. He was the man for the time and place, and his name stands as the pioneer minister of this whole region. True, the Rev. David Rice preceded him, having preached a few weeks earlier, but he came to stay. He was the first installed pastor of any denomination north-west of the Ohio. He was a factor in the history of most of the early churches of the Miami Valley.

"The closing years of the century were a time of trial to the church in Cincinati. Peace had been established with the Indians, and this meant the scattering to farms and small villages. The church felt the loss of many who had been her support. Her loss, however, was the gain of the religion throughout a large section, for churches sprang

up, many churches were organized, and a revival spirit prevailed. Unfortunately this was marked by excesses which led to strife and weakness.

"In 1797 Rev. Peter Wilson took charge of the church. Little is known of him. He was not installed and died after a brief service. He was followed by Rev. Matthew G. Wallace, a man of much ability, who remained part of the time as pastor and part as stated supply about four years. From 1804, the close of Mr. Wallace's labors, until 1808, was a time of controversy and danger. The New Light doctrines and methods were in the ascendant throughout the Miami country. Three ministers, Rev. John Dunlevy, Richard McNernan, and John Thompson, had seceded from Presbytery and been successful in leading off or dividing their churches.

"The church in Cincinnati was seriously affected. Indeed it is on record that for allowing New Light preachers to preach their doctrines in its pulpit, it was refused representation in Presbytery. During this period Rev. Peter Davis and Rev. John Davies supplied the church each for a short time, the former dying before the time for which he was employed had expired."

On May 28, 1808, the "pulpit giant," Rev. Joshua L. Wilson, from Bardstown, Kentucky, was installed as pastor of the Cincinnati church, in which he continued to preach until the year of his death, 1846. He was succeeded by his son, Rev. S. R. Wilson, who held the pastorate until 1861. The Wilsons, father and son, ministered during a period of fifty-three years.

The first quarter of the present century witnessed a general religious activity, and the establishment of numerous sects.

Representatives of every old creed and propagandists of every new *ism* went about in the new country proclaiming what they held to be true, and denouncing what they held to be false, with a freedom of speech adapted to the unfenced fields and waving forests of the West. Jews, Catholics, Protestants, and agnostics alike sought freedom to worship or not to worship in the new country, and took

passage on the river craft at Pittsburg for Kentucky, or Ohio, or Indiana, or Illinois. Such churches as did not choose to take the field as aggressively "militant," were obliged at least to stand warlike in their own defense. Not always were the battles of theology between armies of different flags—civil wars arose, dissentions and bitter feuds within the borders of a camp professedly standing for the same tenets and forms. The Presbyterian Church, of Lexington, Kentucky, was rent in twain by a dispute on psalmody.

Charges of "infidelity" were rife, and heresy was spotted every-where. In 1823, Thomas T. Skillman, of Lexington, started the "Western Luminary," a religious periodical intended to "counteract the influence of infidelity." In 1824, Dr. Charles Caldwell, of Transylvania University, felt called upon to issue a "Defense of the Medical Profession against the Charge of Infidelity and Irreligion." The "Pandect," a religious periodical published by Rev. Joshua Wilson, of Cincinnati, without personal rancor, charged Rev. Timothy Flint with skepticism. Flint, with dry sarcasm, questions the sincerity of some who profess extreme orthodoxy, and he gets off a sly joke at the expense of political office seekers in the following: "We saw a candidate, known to be a derider of religion, sitting at a camp preaching among the ministers, and ever and anon uttering a dismal groan, as if seized with a colic pang, and a face of the more elongated and rueful sanctity."

The camp-meeting in some sections, especially in the South, exerted an attractive control over multitudes, and its fervid, solemn, and picturesque methods wrought effects little short of miraculous. This was emphatically the case during the great revival of 1800, which shook the states of Kentucky and Tennessee to their spiritual center.

The origin of the camp-meeting is given by Rev. E. B. Crisman in a short history of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. "The first camp-meeting ever held," says Mr. Crisman, "was in July, 1800, at Gaspar river, Logan

county, Kentucky. The circumstances which gave rise to it were as follows: A family who had just arrived in the country from one of the Carolinas were desirous of attending one of Mr. McGready's meetings, but were about to decline going, because the meeting was some distance from them, and they had no acquaintances in the country. A female member of the family suggested that they had camped with their wagon on the journey from Carolina to the country, and they might still camp long enough to attend a meeting. They accordingly took their wagon and provision and camped near the church. This family shared largely in the blessings of the meeting. At the next meeting several families followed the example, and were also blessed. This was a good omen, and suggested to Mr. McGready the idea of a camp-meeting, and he accordingly appointed a meeting at Gaspar river, and announced that the people would be expected to camp on the ground. For shelter they used their wagon sheets and cloth tents, as is the custom at the present time (1858) in Texas and other new countries. The first camp-meeting held from Friday until the next Tuesday, and resulted in forty-five conversions."

Twenty thousand souls are said to have attended the session of a camp-meeting at Cane Ridge, near Paris, Ky. About three thousand persons, mostly men, fell in a cataleptic state. Prof. Shaler estimates that perhaps half the entire population of Kentucky were, by the power of this great revival, "brought under the influence of an enthusiasm that for a moment took them quite away from material things." Extensive revivals spread over Kentucky in 1826–7–8–9.

Vivid descriptions of the camp-meeting and its impressive scenes are to be found in the writings of the early Western historians, poets, and novelists. The pioneer "revivals" furnish a theme for a sort of sacred romance or divine comedy.

The period was one of sect forming. The Cumberland Presbyterian Church was of recent origin. It sprung

from the great revival and was organized in Kentucky, February 4, 1810.

Rev. Barton W. Stone organized, in Kentucky, the "Stoneites," or Christians. The sect is locally powerful in the Ohio Valley.

They were dissenters from Presbyterianism, and met in the Cane Ridge Church on June 28, 1804, as the "Springfield Presbytery," and ordained a "Last Will and Testament," in which, among other things, they solemnly "willed that this body die, be dissolved, and sink into union with the body of Christ at large;" that "the Church of Christ resume her right of internal government;" that "each particular church choose her own preacher and support him by free-will offering;" that "the people hereafter take the Bible as the only sure guide to heaven;" that "preacher and people cultivate a spirit of mutual forbearance, pray more, and dispute less;" and "that the oppressed may go free and taste the sweets of gospel liberty."

The Cane Ridge Church, a small log building much ruined by storm and time, is standing yet. The name was given from the fact that the site of the church was originally covered with a cane-brake; and visitors to that locality say the cane still springs up in the old churchyard.

Another development of religious convictions took organized form in societies known at first as Reformers, New Lights, and Free-Will Baptists. Alexander Campbell, originally an Irish Presbyterian, proposed to restore the spirit and letter of primitive Christianity, and drew after him a large following of earnest adherents who took the name "Disciples of Christ." Campbell wrote in 1824: "We neither advocate Calvinism, Arminianism, Socinianism, Arianism, Trinitarianism, Unitarianism, Deism, nor Sectarianism, but *New Testamentism*."

The first quarter of the century measures the duration of the movement known as the "Unitarian Revival," which really began in 1785, when James Freeman, at Boston, broke away from the regular orthodox denomination

and took the name of Unitarian. As early as 1796, Rev. Henry Toulmin, a Unitarian, disseminated his views in Kentucky. Dr. Horace Holley, a Yale graduate, and a favorite of Timothy Dwight, though a dissenter from Calvinism, came to Lexington, Ky., in 1819, and became president of Transylvania University. When it was known that he disbelieved in the Trinity, a sectarian war broke out and raged on the disputed grounds that lie between orthodoxy and Unitarianism. The controversy ruptured the college, and caused Dr. Holley to resign the presidency. Unitarianism, however, got a foothold in the West and South. Several of its most famous champions have been stationed in Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis. Universalism also set up strongholds in these and other western cities. "The Sentinel and Star in the West," a Universalist newspaper, was established in 1829.

Rev. Timothy Flint, who spent several years as a missionary in the Mississippi Valley, commencing his travels in 1814, wrote from his personal observation as follows:

"A circulating phalanx of Methodists, Baptists, and Cumberland Presbyterians, of Atlantic missionaries, and of young *elèves* of the Catholic theological seminaries, from the redundant mass of unoccupied ministers, both in the Protestant and Catholic countries, pervades this great valley with its numerous detachments from Pittsburg, the mountains, the lakes and the Missouri, to the Gulf of Mexico. They all pursue the interests of their several denominations in their own way, and generally in profound peace."

Rev. John Mason Peck, a prominent Baptist missionary in Illinois, writing of the itineracy of other days, says: "That minister's library was considered to be well supplied that contained a complete copy of the Holy Scriptures, a copy of Watts's Psalms and Hymns, and Russell's Seven Sermons. There were preachers then, who taught the people in the best manner they were able, without possessing, and without the power of obtaining, a whole copy of the Word of God." Yet these missionaries and

early preachers exerted a vast influence, and were personages of conspicuous importance. A recent popular writer says: "They were for a long time the only circulating medium of thought and emotion that kept the isolated settlements from utter spiritual stagnation."

One of the most striking figures in the religious annals of the Ohio Valley is Lorenzo Dow, a sort of American Bunyan, whose pilgrimages are as surprising as the progress of Christian in the allegory. "Few who have seen him," reports one of his contemporaries, "will forget his outlandish exterior, his orang-outang features, the beard that swept his aged breast, or the piping treble voice in which he was wont to preach what he called the Gospel of the kingdom."

This eccentric evangelist, born in 1777, made his first western tour in 1804. "I have been in each of the seventeen states of the Union," wrote he in his diary.

Dow makes mention of many strange sects he met with in his travels—the jerking, leaping, and rolling converts, the A-double-L-partists, the Molechites and the Nicholites, a kind of Quakers, "who do not feel free to wear colored clothes." Peggy Dow, the wife of Lorenzo, left some impression upon the times by a book published in Philadelphia in 1816. It contains a "*Collection* of Methodist Hymns," "A Short Account of the Camp-meetings in the United States," and the "Cosmopolite's Muse."

Lorenzo Dow's peculiar writings, published as a subscription book under the title, "History of a Cosmopolite; or Lorenzo's Journal," passed through many editions, and was sold by tens of thousands of volumes, in all parts of the West. The book contains "Lorenzo's Journal," "Lorenzo's Chain," "A Cry from the Wilderness," "Defense of Camp-meetings," "Vicissitudes, or the Journey of Life," and "Analects upon Natural, Social, and Moral Philosophy." Old people are frequently met with in the Ohio Valley who love to relate striking anecdotes concerning Lorenzo Dow, who is made responsible for as many religious extravagances as Lincoln is for political jokes.

A picture to match that of Dow might be drawn of the

less noted Jonathan Chapman, or "Johnny Appleseed," as he was called, from the circumstance that he was the first nurseryman in the Ohio Valley, and brought bushels of apple seeds from the cider-presses of Pennsylvania, and planted them in many parts of Ohio and Indiana. He also was a preacher, or, as he said, a "messenger sent into the wilderness to prepare the way for the people." Born in Massachusetts in 1775, he was a regularly ordained Swedenborgian missionary. He always carried tracts and books, zealous to plant ideas as well as apple seeds. Fruit is still grown on surviving trees planted by Johnny Appleseed, in the valleys of the Muskingum and the Scioto.

Dr. Peck deserves more than a passing notice in the annals of western intellectual labor. He ranks as one of the ablest and most worthy of the pioneer useful writers. Born in Litchfield parish, South Farms, Connecticut, October 31, 1789, he began to preach in 1811, was ordained in 1813, and became associated with Rev. Luther Rice in efforts to arouse the Baptists of the country to a sense of their duty in foreign missions. He was appointed by the Baptist Missionary Union to labor in St. Louis and vicinity. Proceeding westward in a covered wagon, with his wife and three children, he journeyed four months, a distance of 1,200 miles, reaching Shawneetown in the fall of 1817. For several years he resided in Missouri, where he and his family suffered extremely from sickness. In 1821 he removed to Rock Spring, Illinois, and established a seminary, into which were gathered at one time as many as one hundred students. In April, 1828, he began the publication of a paper called the Western Pioneer and Baptist. Vigorous and energetic, he made numberless extensive preaching tours, and took a prominent part in the affairs of the territory, preliminary to its becoming a state. Especially was he interested in promoting the cause of education and temperance. The Rock Spring Seminary became united with what is now Shurtleff College.

Dr. Peck devoted himself to the study of local history, and to the encouragement of literary manifestation

among young men. Through his influence, Prof. John Russell, of Bluff Dale, Illinois, was induced to publish "The Legend of the Piasa" and other pieces. Russell was the author of a temperance essay called "The Venomous Worm," beginning with the sentence: "There is a worm whose bite outvenoms all the serpents of the Nile." Thousands of school-children in the West learned the piece by heart and declaimed it.

Peck's writings include a "Guide for Emigrants," a "Gazetteer of Illinois," "Father Clark, or the Pioneer Preacher," and a "Life of Daniel Boone." He revised and enlarged Perkins's "Annals of the West." Dr. Peck died March 24, 1857. A memoir of him has been published by Rufus Babcock, in a book entitled "Forty Years of Pioneer Life."

It would require volumes to sketch the life and labors of the noted preachers of the West. Many of them were famed for eloquence. Who has not heard of the renowned Peter Cartwright,[1] 1785–1872, the presiding elder of Illinois, the type of Methodist pioneer ministers? His preaching is rhetorically described by one who himself was a distinguished circuit preacher, Rev. W. H. Milburn, author of "Ten Years of Preacher Life." The following are Milburn's words on Cartwright's oratory: "A voice which, in his prime, was capable of almost every modulation, the earnest force and homely directness of his speech, and his power over the passions of the human heart, made him an orator to win and command the suffrages and sympathies of a western audience. And ever through the discourse, came, and went, and came again, a humor that was resistless, now broadening the features into a merry smile, and then softening the heart until tears stood in the eyes of all. His figures and illustrations were often grand, sometimes fantastical. Like all natives of the new country, he spoke much in metaphors, and his were bor-

[1] The Backwoods Preacher. An Autobiography of Peter Cartwright, for more than fifty years a preacher in the Backwoods of America. Edited by W. P. Strickland. London, 1858.

rowed from the magnificent realm in which he lived. All forms of nature, save those of the sounding sea, were familiar to him, and were employed with the easy familiarity with which children use their toys. You might hear, in a single discourse, the thunder tread of a frightened herd of buffaloes as they rushed wildly across the prairie, the crash of the windrow as it fell smitten by the breath of the tempest, the piercing scream of the wild cat as it scared the midnight forest, the majestic rhythm of the Mississippi as it harmonized the distant East and West, and united, bore their tributes to the far-off ocean; the silvery flow of a mountain rivulet, the whisper of groves, and the jocund laughter of unnumbered prairie flowers, as they toyed in dalliance with the evening breeze. Thunder and lightning, fire and flood, seemed to be old acquaintances, and he spoke of them with the assured confidence of friendship. Another of the poet's attributes was his—the impulse and the power to create his own language; and he was the best lexicon of western words, phrases, idioms, and proverbs, that I have ever met."

The pioneer period produced an astonishing array of illustrious pulpit orators; men who swayed multitudes, and who were regarded with a veneration that bordered on idolatry. The immense popular control which these voices in the wilderness exerted is incalculable. They were the spiritual and moral custodians of the people. Their winged words set free in the unreporting air, have flown into oblivion. But the thought, the soul of the message, was recorded in the heart and the life of a generation. Few books did these fervent ministers of the Gospel indite. No stenographer took down on paper and gave to the press their exhortations and their prayers. But the sermon was engraved upon listening hearts and the benediction was heard in heaven. Every section of the West had its evangelic Boanerges in those old camp-meeting years. I can not forbear to transcribe a description of the favorite orator of Tennessee, the once celebrated Dr. Bascom. A distinguished contemporary clergyman of another denomination praises Bascom in the fol-

lowing language: "I would not wish to laud him in the same affected strain, with the encomiums of the blind minister of Virginia. But he is certainly an extraordinary man in his way. His first appearance is against him, indicating a rough and uncouth man. He uses many low words, and images and illustrations in bad taste. But perhaps, when you are getting tired, almost disgusted, every thing is reversed in a moment. He flashes upon you. You catch his eye and you follow him; he bursts upon you in a glow of feeling and pathos, leaving you not sufficiently cool to criticise. We may affect to decry the talent of moving the inmost affections. After all, I am inclined to think it the most important qualification which a minister can possess. He possesses this in an eminent degree. He has the electric eye, the thrilling tones, the unction, the feeling, the universal language of passion and nature, which is equally known and felt by all people. He has evidently been richly endowed by nature; but his endowments owe little to discipline or education."

A correspondent[1] of the Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, in 1890, thus graphically pictures two of the great pioneer preachers of South-western Ohio and Eastern Indiana:

"No history of the great Ohio Valley will be full and complete without giving a just meed of praise to the labors of the pioneer preachers who, amid all difficulties, dangers, and hardships, broke the bread of life to the early settlers, and so materially aided in laying broad and deep the moral sentiment of the community. Many of those men deserve a chapter in the future history of the country. In their labor of love, for it was a labor of love to them, they passed through dangers and endured toils and privations that few of the present day know any thing about, and the story of their lives and their devotion to the cause of God and humanity would be of thrilling interest. One of the most famous of those early pioneers was William H. Raper, well-known in his day in

[1] F. D. Mussey.

South-western Ohio and Eastern Indiana. There are some living yet who remember him and speak with love and admiration of his memory. In his travels he traversed forests and oftentimes was compelled to swim rivers and encamp all night in the midst of the wildest storms of rain or snow, with no covering but the heavens or the branches of a forest tree. On one occasion, while traveling his circuit, which embraced all the south-eastern part of Indiana, he got lost in the woods one dark night, and wandered about for several hours. At last in his wanderings he came to the bank of a stream. The rain had been falling steadily for several days, and he knew the water must be very high. He felt that to remain out all night in his exhausted condition meant death; he determined to cross the stream, if possible, and seek shelter on the other side. He dismounted and groped along in the darkness as best he could, until he came to what he supposed to be a bridge. He carefully led his horse on to it. As he proceeded, he felt it giving under him step by step, but he kept on until finally he reached the other side in safety. A short distance from there he discovered a house, and, after arousing the inmates, obtained permission to stay all night. They asked him how he had been able to cross the creek, and when he told them he had crossed on the bridge, they were confounded, and told him there was no bridge there and never had been. In the morning they went to the place and discovered that in the darkness he had crossed on floating driftwood that had become jammed.

"At another time he had an experience which would have furnished the psychologist of those days a hard nut to crack. While crossing a very full stream at an early hour one morning, his horse threw him into the water. The accident occurred at a place near where the creek emptied into the Ohio, and he was being rapidly borne out into the current of the river when, by chance, he was swept near an overhanging branch, which he was able to seize and hold. To that he clung until his strength was almost exhausted. He was about to give up in despair,

as no help was near, when he seemed to hear a voice saying, 'Mother is praying for you, and you will be saved.' This gave him new courage, and, making another and a final effort, he reached the bank in safety. On reaching his mother's house, several days afterward, she told him she had a terrible dream about him. She said that one morning she was awakened in a great fright, and heard some one saying, 'William is in great danger.' She sprang from her bed and began praying for him. This she kept up until at last a peace fell upon her spirit, and she was satisfied her son had escaped from the danger which threatened him. On comparing the time, it was found to be at exactly the hour he was struggling with the raging waters a hundred miles distant. Let some one explain this on scientific principles. This same minister once had a watch stolen from him under peculiar circumstances in Cincinnati. A man by the name of Washburne was condemned to death. On the day of the execution, Mr. Raper was called upon to act as chaplain. He visited the condemned man in his cell and offered up prayer. While he was praying Washburne stole his watch from his pocket. The watch was not missed, and it was not until it had been found on the person of Washburne after his execution that Mr. Raper knew it had been stolen.

"Among the most gifted of those devoted men was Russell Bigelow. He was about medium height, of slender frame, and feeble constitution. His head was large and forehead high and prominent. He wore his hair long, and as it was rather thin, it gave him a cadaverous appearance. He had a wonderful power over an audience, and could sway the multitudes at his will by his eloquence, which was lofty and fervent. Such was his fame that when it was announced that he was to preach, the people for many miles flocked to hear him. His appearance was much against him, for he was always clad in coarse and ill-fitting garments. He had a keen eye, prominent cheek bones, a projecting chin, large nose, expanding nostrils, and wide mouth. A noted skeptic who heard him on one of his great occasions as he preached to

a large audience at a camp-meeting near Dayton, O., wrote thus of his sermon:

"'Having stated and illustrated his position clearly, he laid broadly the foundation of his argument, and piled stone upon stone, hewed and polished, till he stood upon a majestic pyramid, with heaven's own light around him, pointing the astonished multitude to a brighter home beyond the sun, and bidding defiance to the enemy to remove one fragment of the rock on which his feet were placed. His argument being complete, his peroration commenced. This was grand beyond description. The whole universe seemed animated by its Creator to aid him in persuading the sinners to return to God, and the angels commissioned to open heaven and come down and strengthen him. Now he opens the mouth of the pit, and takes us through the gloomy avenues, while the bolts retreat and the doors of damnation burst open, and the wails of the lost come to our ears; and now he opens heaven and transports us to the flowery plains, stands up amid the armies of the blest, to sweep with celestial fingers angelic harps, and join the eternal chorus, "Worthy, Worthy the Lamb." As he closed his discourse, every energy of his body and mind were stretched to the utmost tension. His soul appeared to be too great for its tenement, and every moment ready to burst through and soar away as an eagle toward heaven. His lungs labored, his arms rose, the perspiration, with tears, flowed in a steady stream on the floor, and every thing about him seemed to say, "Oh, that my head were waters." But the audience thought not of the struggling body, nor even of the giant mind within, for they were paralyzed by the avalanche of thought that descended upon them. I lost the man, but the subject was all in all.'"

"At one time the Conference was to be held in Steubenville, Ohio. A wealthy Episcopalian went to the Methodist pastor in that place and told him that if he would send him the most talented man in the Conference he would be glad to entertain him. Bigelow was sent to him. He made his appearance at the aristocratic resi-

dence in his homespun suit. His personal appearance was not prepossessing, and, upon meeting the pastor, the Episcopalian complained that he had not been rightly treated. He was reminded that he had asked for the most talented man, and he had been sent to him. The pastor said to him: 'He is to preach at the Presbyterian Church to-morrow morning. You go and hear him, and then if you are still dissatisfied, I will change him and send you the bishop.' The host and his family attended the Presbyterian Church the next day. Mr. Bigelow took his seat in the pulpit, and when it was time to begin the services, arose and read his hymn. Such reading of poetry had never before been heard in Steubenville, and the host and his daughters exchanged surprised and significant glances. It was one of the preacher's grand days, and he electrified his audience. At the close of the sermon the host requested his daughters to accompany Mr. Bigelow to the house, saying that he had to attend to a little matter down the street. He made his way at once to the Methodist parsonage, and, calling the pastor to one side, told him that he would not trade off Mr. Bigelow and his homespun suit for all the bishops. Such is the power of eloquence."

Hon. E. O. Smith, in his "Indiana Trials," writing of "Itinerant Preachers," remarks, "that early Indiana, nay, Indiana to-day, owes more to the itinerant Methodist preachers than to all other religious denominations combined." He mentions, with praise, the names of the following early preachers: James Jones, Augustus Jocelyn, John P. Durbin, James Conwell, John Hardy, Aaron Wood, James Havens, Elijah Whitten, John Morrow, Thomas Silvey, John Strange, and Allen Wiley.

In 1832 Dr. Lyman Beecher came to Cincinnati, called to the presidency of Lane Seminary. Though a stanch Calvinist of the school of Mather, Edwards, and Dwight, his orthodoxy was impeached by Rev. Joshua Lacy Wilson, D.D., the powerful preacher who from 1808 to 1846 ministered from the pulpit of the First Presbyterian Church. Mrs. Stowe described the theological battle be-

tween her father and Dr. Wilson as a "Spiritual Armageddon, being the confluence of the forces of Scotch-Irish Presbyterian, Calvanistic fatalism, meeting with the advancing rationalism of New England new-school theology." Beecher was tried and acquitted in his own church, before the Presbytery of Cincinnati, on charges of heresy preferred by Wilson, and the proceedings of the trial were printed.[1] While carrying on this defensive war, he published a long discourse, entitled, "A Plea for the West," which, while prophesying the future greatness of the West, eloquently urged the necessity of universal education, and violently assailed the Roman Catholic Church. Lyman Beecher's sons, Edward, George, Charles, and Henry Ward, and his daughters, Catherine and Harriet, were, in a considerable degree, educated by western influences, and they all began their aggressive life-work in the West. Henry Ward Beecher's first sermons were preached in Ohio and Indiana, and his first pastorate was at Lawrenceburg, and his second at Indianapolis.

The new sects of which I have spoken, and the newly inspired older sects, wrought zealously to infuse their doctrines every-where. Their active energy might be likened to that force of chemical elements which scientists observe in substances just set free from combination, and existing in what is called the *nascent*, or new-born state. The clash of beliefs, and the ardor to establish innovating systems, gave rise to many public debates on religious subjects. The most distinguished champion in the lists of the theological tournament, was Alexander Campbell, already mentioned as the founder of the Society of the Disciples. The appellation, "New Light,"[2] was frequently applied to him and his followers, sometimes opprobiously, sometimes approvingly. That name, however, originated long before Campbell's time; certainly as far back as the

[1] See "Trial and Acquittal of Lyman Beecher, D.D., before the Presbytery of Cincinnati, on Charges preferred by Joshua L. Wilson, D.D., Cincinnati, 1835."

[2] There is a species of edible fish in the Kentucky river locally distinguished by the name of "New Light."

"Great Awakening" of 1740, which started in New England. It was spoken of as the "New Light Stir," and continued for twenty-five years or more, in which period 40,000 persons were "converted." A popular New Light hymn was often sung in religious assemblies of the period, in Rhode Island. I here transcribe two of its eleven stanzas, every one of which introduces the term, "New Light," in some connection:

> "Despised by man, upheld by God,
> We're marching on the heavenly road;
> Loud hallelujahs we will sing
> To Jesus Christ, the New Light's King.
>
> "Though by the world we are disdained,
> And have our names cast out by men,
> Yet Christ our Captain for us fights;
> Nor death, nor hell, can hurt New Lights."

The New Light movement spread to the South and to the West, and, no doubt, had a remote, if not a direct, bearing upon the various church reformers. Campbell disclaimed all sectarian badges, desiring simply to be considered a restorer of old forms, not an inventor of things new.

Alexander Campbell was born in Ireland, September 12, 1788, and he died, March 4, 1866. His father, Rev. Thomas Campbell, a seceder, opened an academy at Rich Hill, and Alexander assisted in teaching. Thomas emigrated to America in 1807, and Alexander followed in 1809. They settled at Washington, Pennsylvania, where the son wrote essays for the Washington Reporter, sign-himself "Clarinda." He made his first attempt at preaching in 1810. In 1823, he began the "Christian Baptist," espousing the principles of that ancient sect "Called Christians first at Antioch." From 1823 to 1830, "he issued of his own works, from his own little country printing office, no less than 46,000 volumes." His house near the Ohio river above Wheeling he named Bethany, and it was made a post-office, on account of the extensive mail he received and dispatched. His numerous works, com-

prising about sixty volumes, include a "New Version of the Testament," a "Life of Thomas Campbell," six volvolumes of "Debates," seven volumes of "The Christian Baptist," and thirty-four volumes of "The Millennial Harbinger," a periodical which ran from 1830 to 1863 inclusive. The use of such names as "Millennial Harbinger," "Western Messenger," "Herald of Truth," suggestive of faith in the "good time coming," was characteristic of the reformers in the western country. Campbell was the founder of Bethany College, near which may be seen a monument erected to his memory.

Alexander Campbell challenged the whole theological field, and assaulted the outlying territories of disbelief. He hurled a lance at young Mormonism in Northern Ohio. His numerous debates, six of which were published, gave him widespread renown. As long ago as 1820 he held his first important discussion, on baptism, with Mr. John Walker, at Mount Pleasant, Ohio. Three years later he debated with Mr. McCalla, a Presbyterian, on the same subject, in a grove near Washington, Kentucky. More memorable was his dispute with Robert Owen, which took place in Cincinnati, April, 1829.

Owen denied the truth of religion in general and Campbell affirmed the truth of Christianity. People came to hear this discussion from New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Tennessee, and Mississippi. Twelve hundred persons crowded into the Methodist Church, where it was held, and many went away unable to obtain a sitting. The wordy battle was continued for eight days, and at the conclusion the audience decided by a rising vote that Campbell and Christianity were victorious. A still more exciting duel of dogmas was fought in Cincinnati, January, 1837, by Campbell and Bishop John B. Purcell, on Catholicism. This stirred up the polemic spirit of the city, caused mass meetings to pass resolutions, and brought the political press into the skirmish line.

Charles Hammond, of the Gazette, and James Birney, of the Philanthropist, drew their pens and rushed to the conflict. Soon after the Purcell debate, Campbell began

a discussion with Rev. Mr. Skinner, on Universalism, which was carried on for two years in the columns of the Harbinger. The last, and perhaps the most noted theological tournament in which Campbell took part was that of November, 1843, when he encountered Rev. N. L. Rice, a Presbyterian clergyman of Danville, Kentucky, who had won a high reputation as an oral debater. The champions met at Lexington, and Henry Clay presided during their sixteen days' disputation.

Dr. Rice and Rev. E. M. Pingree, a brilliant Universalist divine, held an eight-day discussion in the year 1845. The daily sessions took place in the Millerite Tabernacle, a large wooden structure in Cincinnati, and the multitude of auditors was greater than the inside of the building would accommodate, and numbers climbed upon the roof to listen to the speakers.

Propounders of original views, dissenters and reformers of all shades of belief and unbelief, came to the valley. They considered the new country a *tabula rasa*, upon which every man who had a positive idea was free to write a theory. Campbell declared that he began his religious movement in the West because the West was the field of best opportunity. "Why," said he, "the western people believe in giving every man liberty of speech; they gave Owen a fair chance."

Robert Owen, whose name is associated with St. Simon and Fourier, was a Welsh philanthopist of large fortune, who came to America in 1824 to propound and establish the principles of Socialism. In 1825 he bought of Frederick Rappe the village of New Harmony and twenty-five thousand acres of land on the Wabash, Indiana, paying $190,000, and there organized his celebrated community. His assumptions were that man is a creature of circumstances, and that favorable surroundings make good character. He repudiated the sanctions of the Church, relying wholly upon practical education as the source of correct conduct. Sin and misery he ascribed to ignorance and its transmitted effects. A strict materialist, he accepted nothing as true except that which he could prove by facts. The

school which was started at New Harmony based its methods on the writings of Pestalozzi, and made the name of that great educator familiar in the backwoods. Francis J. N. Neef, the associate of Pestalozzi, was a teacher at New Harmony. For the amusement of the men and women social parties were held in a large hall, with music and dancing. Sometimes four hundred persons were on the dancing floor at once. On Sunday scientific lectures were delivered in the hall; and itinerant preachers were invited, and even urged, to use the same pulpit as a free arena. "Mental Independence" was the motto of the Communists. A paper, New Harmony Gazette, called by Campbell the "focus of the lights of skepticism," was started in 1825, and in 1827 Owen issued a little volume called "New Views of Society."

The New Harmony experiment attracted a heterogeneous company. Several distinguished visitors from Europe sojourned with Owen for awhile. One of these was the Duke of Saxe-Weimar. Another was William Maclure, the scientist. Another was Miss Frances Wright, who, like Owen, was wealthy, and a reformer. Timothy Flint classed her among the "Wollstonecraftian ladies."

Frances Wright was born in Dundee, Scotland, in 1797, and she died in Cincinnati in 1853. She lived for three years in France in the family of Lafayette. Coming to America, she bought a tract of wild land in Western Tennessee, and started a plantation, which she named Nashoba, and devoted herself to the education of thirty negroes whom she purchased from slavery. In her own words, she devoted herself to a "race oppressed where liberty had planted her throne, and despised where man had first spoken the name of equality."

Several times Miss Wright went alone, on horseback, from Nashoba to New Harmony; and, finally, her health failing, she abandoned the Tennessee scheme, and removed to the Owen settlement. For the New Harmony Gazette she wrote essays and a series of articles called "A Few Days in Athens," which afterward appeared in a volume. She traveled through the United States and

gave lectures at the principal cities on "Knowledge," "Religion," "Morals," "Opinions," and other subjects. These were published in book form.

Nothwithstanding its auspicious name, New Harmony became a scene of discord, and declined.[1] Robert Owen went back to Scotland. His son, Robert Dale Owen, accompanied Miss Wright to New York, where the latter bought a church, which she rechristened the "Hall of Science," and occupied as a lecture-room and an office of publication for the Free Enquirer, formerly the New Harmony Gazette. This paper, its editors claimed, was "the first periodical established in the United States for the purpose of fearless and unbiased inquiry on all subjects."

A number of other papers, of a similar liberal character, soon sprang into existence, among which we may mention "The Investigator," "Comet," "The Beacon," and the "Herkimer Liberal."

Frances Wright composed a tragedy called "Altorf," and a work in two volumes entitled "England, the Civilizer." It is recorded that she preferred the society of men to that of women, on account of the superior intelligence of the former. She contracted a marriage with Wilhelm Phiquepal D'Arusmont. It was stipulated that, should

[1] Owen's experiment at New Harmony was not the only communistic attempt to reform society in the Ohio Valley. A communistic store or "Model Bazaar" was in operation in Cincinnati in 1827. A "Community" was organized in Tuscarawas county, Ohio, in 1835. In 1844, the "Clermont Phalanx," an association according to Fourier, was formed on the Ohio river, in Clermont county, Ohio. This failed within less than three years. Its property was purchased by a company of reformers known as the "Brotherhood," at the head of which was John O. Wattles. The "Brotherhood's" principal building, an edifice of brick, was undermined by the river in the flood of 1847, and seventeen persons were drowned. More interesting and successful was the establishment organized in 1847, also in Clermont county, by Josiah Warren. This was the village of Utopia, founded by a small company in accordance with the maxim, "cost is the limit of price." The community broke up within a few years. Warren removed to New England. He is the author of several very remarkable pamphlets, which anticipate the writings of George and Bellamy. His "Equitable Commerce" was published at Utopia in 1849. Three other pamphlets of his on "True Civilization," were issued in Princeton, Mass., in 1873.

any children be born, the mother was to have no part in their education. On one occasion, when Miss Wright lectured in the court-house in Cincinnati, a mob cast stones at her. Picking up one of these rude missiles, she said, smiling, "This is a hard argument."

The action and reaction of colliding elements in the Ohio Valley struck out much intellectual heat and light. Civilized races met with savage, Christianity met Judaism, Protestant challenged Catholic. Calvinist encountered anti-Calvinist, Unitarian opposed Trinitarian, old denominations split by contention projected new sects into being, and each new sect criticised all the others. Antagonizing churches in general, and even assaulting the bulwarks of religion itself, the agnostics, the skeptics, and the avowed atheists joined the thick combat. Extremes grappled. What a swing of the pendulum of opinion, from the Catholic kneeling before the crucifix, or the rapt Protestant convert swooning at the mourners' bench, to the Cincinnati materialist who was offended when his child was taught that God exists, or to Mrs. Trollope, who, after witnessing a revival, said: "I confess that I think the coarsest comedy ever written would be a less detestable exhibition for the eye of youth and innocence than such a scene."

How wide the contrast between the implicit faith of Lorenzo Dow, and the skepticism of Orson Murray who regarded prayer as a crime and whose funeral sermon, written by himself, insists that death ends all!

I doubt if the world has witnessed a more extraordinary series of religious events than transpired in the Ohio Valley in the first half of the nineteenth century. Notwithstanding the dissensions within old denominations, and unprecedented splits and conflicts among new sects, and the utter repudiation of religion by some, the churches grew and flourished. The freedom to worship God, which the Pilgrims "sought afar," was found in the "New England of the West," as Ohio was called. Religious liberty ran riot, and was not distinguished, in some cases, from

license. Even Dilks, the Leatherwood God,[1] who, in 1828, inaugurated his system by a loud snort and the cry of the single word "Salvation," was tolerated, and had a following who worshiped him. Smith, the inventor of the Mormon bible, found refuge in Ohio, in 1832, and though he was treated to a coat of tar and feathers, that did not prevent him from establishing the Latter Day Saints at Kirtland, and ordaining Brigham Young elder.

The clash of creeds gave origin to much discourse, oral and printed. Sermons and religious debates were heard by multitudes of listeners, and read by other multitudes. Every leading sect had its "organ" or periodical. Propagandists of new systems made extensive use of the press and the platform. Secular newspapers and magazines devoted many columns to news and discussions bearing on religious, moral, and social matters.

In a word, religious worship, Scripture reading, hymn singing, sermon hearing, and the perusal of controversial periodicals and tracts, attendance at camp-meetings, "revivals," theological discussions, and the universal custom of thinking and talking on religious subjects, had an immense influence in shaping the literature of the Ohio Valley "in the beginning."

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[1] The Leatherwood God. An Account of the Appearance and Pretensions of Joseph C. Dilks in Eastern Ohio, in 1828. By R. H. Taneyhill. 12mo. Paper.

CHAPTER VII.

POLITICAL ORATORY AND ORATORS—THE LECTURE.

The American veterans who survived the Revolutionary War rejoiced in anniversaries. Emphatically did they celebrate Independence Day, with utterance of much impassioned eloquence in oration and poem. On the 4th of July, 1788, the founders of Marietta, then a settlement only three months old, met to commemorate the nation's birth. Judge J. M. Varnum[1] delivered an address abounding in balanced sentences and rhetorical phrases. Anticipating the coming of his excellency, Governor Arthur St. Clair, the orator exclaimed: "May he soon arrive! Thou gently flowing Ohio, whose surface, as conscious of thy unequaled majesty, reflecteth no image but the impending heaven, bear him, oh! bear him safely to this anxious spot! And thou beautiful, transparent Muskingum, swell at the moment of his approach, and reflect no objects but of pleasure and delight!"

Having thus glowingly apostrophized the absent governor, the gallant general addressed his "fair auditors" in still more ornate style. "Gentle zephyrs and fanning breezes, wafting through the air ambrosial odors, receive you here. Hope no longer flutters upon the wings of uncertainty. . . . Amiable in yourselves, amiable in your tender connections, you will soon add to the felicity of others, who, emulous of following your bright example, and having formed their manners upon the elegance of simplicity and the refinements of virtue, will be happy

[1] James Mitchell Varnum was a member of the first class that graduated from Brown University, in 1769. He became a brigadier-general in the Revolutionary army, and was a member of the Colonial Congress. He was an eloquent lawyer. He was one of the supreme judges of the North-western Territory. Died, January 10, 1789.

in living with you in the bosom of friendship." Such was the fashion of sentence-making in the days of yore. According to Dr. Hildreth, Judge Varnum was distinguished for his "brilliant language and thundering eloquence."

At the close of the oration a feast was served in a spacious bower, constructed on the point of land at the confluence of the Muskingum and the Ohio. From the fourteen toasts offered I select the following: "The United States," "The Congress," "His Most Christian Majesty," "The New Federal Constitution," "Patriots and Heroes," "Captain Pipe, Chief of the Delawares," "The Amiable Partners of our Delicate Pleasures."

The soldiers at Fort Harmar had commemorated the great national day in 1786 by firing a salute of thirteen guns, "after which," wrote Sergeant Joseph Buell, in his diary, "the troops were served with extra rations of liquor, and allowed to get drunk as much as they pleased."

St. Clair reached Fort Harmar July 9, and on the 15th he made his public entry, "at the bower, in the city of Marietta," and another grand ceremony took place. The Ordinance of 1787 was read, and appropriate speeches of welcome and response were spoken. The governor's address, though formal and stately, was warmed by a sincere eloquence evoked by the place and purpose of the meeting. In the course of his remarks he said: "The subduing a new country, notwithstanding its natural advantages, is alone an arduous task; a task, however, that patience and perseverance will at last surmount, and these virtues, so necessary in every situation, but peculiarly so in yours, you must resolve to exercise. Neither is reducing a country from a state of nature to a state of civilization so irksome as it may appear from a slight or superficial view; even very sensible pleasures attend it; the gradual progress of improvement fills the mind with delectable ideas; vast forests converted into arable fields, and cities rising in places which were lately the habitations of wild beasts, give a pleasure something like that attendant on creation. If we can form an idea of it, the imagination is ravished and a taste communicated of even

the 'joy of God to see a happy world.'" General Rufus Putnam responded to St. Clair's speech.

The example set at Marietta of celebrating the "glorious Fourth" was imitated in hundreds of settlements subsequently formed in the West. When General Moses Cleveland, with a company of surveyors, arrived on the Western Reserve on July 4, 1796, a patriotic demonstration was made, with speeches and joyful noise. Doubtless the orators of the day reminded their hearers that just twenty years had passed since John Adams wrote from Philadelphia to his wife, in Boston, that Independence Day "ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations, from one end of the continent to the other, from this time forward forevermore." With such warrant and exhortation, our patriotic fathers made the most of the anniversary, and "spread-eagle" eloquence was at a premium in the forensic market.

The visit of Lafayette to America, in 1824, acted like a fanning breeze on the fire of patriotism, and revived the spirit of declamation. The marquis came to Ashland to see Clay, and was all-hailed in an eloquent speech delivered at Transylvania College by Dr. Holley. At Cincinnati he was banqueted and welcomed in an address by Joseph H. Benham. This was in May. It was not until the 26th of August that Edward Everett, in a famous oration pronounced at Cambridge before the Society of the Phi Beta Kappa, addressed Lafayette, who was present at the delivery of the oration, using the familiar words: "Welcome, thrice welcome to our shores; and whithersoever throughout the limits of the continent your course shall take you, the ear that hears you shall bless you, the eye that sees you shall bear witness to you, and every tongue exclaim, with heartfelt joy, welcome, welcome Lafayette!"

Mr. Everett, whose name will always be associated with American oratory and culture, had a decided interest in the growth and development of the West. In the summer of 1829, on his journey homeward from a tour in the

Mississippi Valley, he visited the Yellow Springs, Ohio, then a fashionable watering-place and the favorite resort of the Cincinnati gentry. The distinguished sojourner accepted an invitation to partake of a public dinner, and, in accordance with the fashion, a series of toasts was offered and responded to. The toastmaster of the occasion was Daniel K. Este, who offered the following sentiment: "On behalf of the proprietor and visitors at the Yellow Springs, I give a most cordial welcome to our fellow-citizen, Mr. Edward Everett—highly distinghed as a scholar and as a liberal and enlightened statesman."

Mr. Everett addressed the company in a neat speech, which was printed in full in the "Western Tiller," of July 7, 1829.

Mr. Everett spoke of the wonderful material progress of the West, the rapid increase in population, the construction of the National road, the establishment of stage routes, and "your canal policy—the glory and prosperity of the state." He reminded his listeners that, "Forty years since the only white population connected with Ohio was on its way in a single wagon from Massachusetts to this place." He referred to Drake's picture of Cincinnati as the work from which, while traveling in Europe thirteen years ago, he had gained his first impressions of the Ohio Valley. Flattering allusion was made, also, to Flint's Geography and History of the Mississippi Valley, and to Mansfield and Drake's Cincinnati in 1826. Nor did he fail to refer to the near relation existing between New England and the West. Speaking of the system of public schools recently transplanted from Massachusetts to Ohio, he used the following words: "Regarding the *mind* of the citizen as the most precious part of the public capital, we have felt that an efficient plan of general education is one of the first elements of public wealth. The diffusion of intelligence has furnished us our best compensation for our narrow limits and moderately fertile soil; and the tax which has effected it has returned with the richest interest to the citizen. We rejoice to see you adopting the same policy, and providing for a posterity

instructed in the necessary branches of useful knowledge. Such a policy, besides all its other benefits, binds the different members of the body politic by the strongest ties; it lays the rich under contribution for the education of the poor; and it places the strong watchman of public intelligence and order at the door of the rich. In the first adoption of such a system, difficulties are to be expected. It can not go equally well into operation in every quarter, perhaps not perfectly in any quarter, but the man or the body of men that shall effectually introduce it will perform a work of public utility of which the praise will never die."

At the conclusion of Mr. Everett's address, which was decidedly flattering to western pride, the following toasts were offered, which were certainly sufficiently appeciative of New England worth:

By Nathan Guilford, Esq. *The North American Review*—It has done credit to the science and literature of our country, and raised our reputation abroad. Its founders and conductors are entitled to the honor and gratitude of the nation.

By John P. Foote. *The Philosophers and Scholars of Our Country*—May their usefulness be properly appreciated.

By Stephen Fales, Esq., of Dayton, O.—*The State of Massachusetts.*

By Major William Ruffin. *The New England School System*—May it be extended through all the states and territories of America.

By Dan Stone, Esq. *The Pursuits of Literature and the Studies of Political Science*—How greatly are both assisted by the knowledge acquired by travel and personal observation.

By Mr. Mills. *The State of Ohio*—With a climate equal to that of Italy, with a soil equal to that of Egypt—to be admired, she is only to be visited.

Whether Mr. Mills, the framer of the last sentiment, was an "Ohio man" or a compliment-paying traveler, we

are not able to decide. One fancies that he thought New England was getting more than her share of laudation, and that he considered it but fair to balance the account between East and West by plumping Ohio into the western scale.

Some four years after the Everett banquet, Daniel Webster visited Cincinnati, and he was waited on by a committee of thirty prominent citizens, who invited him "to partake of a public dinner" at the Exchange, on Wednesday, June 19, 1833, at four o'clock P. M. The following names appear on the roll of the committee: General James Findlay, Joseph Pierce, Robert Buchanan, Judge Torrence, Bellamy Storer, Josiah Lawrence, Robert T. Lytle, Morgan Neville, Judge William Miller, General Samuel Borden, James Goodloe, Jacob Resor, Allison Owen, Peyton S. Symmes, Archibald Irwin; Jacob Burnet, D. T. Disney, William C. Anderson, Judge Goodenow, Daniel Drake, Ebenezer Hulse, General Edward King, Dr. L. Rives, Colonel Francis Carr, William Tift, William R. Foster, John H. Groesbeck, Dr. J. Caswell, E. S. Thomas, John P. Foote. Morgan Neville, chairman; Bellamy Storer, secretary.

Mr. Webster accepted the invitation in the following formal note:

Saturday, June 15, 1833.

SIR:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, as chairman of a committee appointed by the citizens of Cincinnati, inviting me to a public dinner on Wednesday. In this, my first visit to the West, it has been my object to see the country, as extensively as I could, and to enjoy an intercourse with the people, free from the restraints and inconveniences attendant on public manifestations of regard and kindness. On the present occasion, however, it seems to be thought that what is so kindly proposed may afford an opportunity of enlarging that intercourse, and of exchanging salutations with the citizens of Cincinnati, more favorable than may otherwise be presented. With these impressions, I accept

with pleasure the invitation which is given to me. I am, with much true regard, your obliged fellow citizen,

DANIEL WEBSTER.

MORGAN NEVILLE, ESQ.

The dinner was given with due ceremony, and the subjoined report of it appeared in the Cincinnati Gazette:

"The dinner to Mr. Webster, on Wednesday, was what, in the language of truth, might be called a brilliant affair. Every thing passed off well. The company was full to overflowing, and no unpleasant incident occurred to mar the general hilarity. The mayor presided; the Rev. Wm. Burke made an invocation to the Throne of Grace, at the commencement of the festivities. The dinner was a good one—abundant, well prepared; the wines—but in them I have no skill. Mr. Webster was called out for a speech at the sixth toast. It was well conceived and happy—natural in all its aspects, a little flattering to the whole West, a little more so to Cincinnati in particular, and yet, perhaps, nothing short of the whole truth. He has promised to furnish a sketch of it for publication, and we will not anticipate that sketch by giving one from mere memory.

Mr. Barry (the Postmaster General, who happened to be in Cincinnati) declined to join in the festivities, in consequence of the visitations of the cholera among his friends at Lexington, very properly considering that these ought to preclude him of being one of a festive board.

REGULAR TOASTS.

1. The President of the United States.
2. The heads of departments.
3. The Federal judiciary.
4. The army and navy of the United States.
5. The memory of Washington.
6. Our distinguished guest, the Hon. Daniel Webster—the profound expounder of the Constitution, the eloquent supporter of the Federal Union, and the uniform friend and advocate of the western country.

7. The patriots of the revolution.

8. The defenders of our country during the late war.

9. Our friend, fellow-citizen and guest, General William Henry Harrison—identified with the warfare and settlement, prosperity and glory of the western country—the laurels which he wears have been well won, and are cheerfully accorded.

10. The press—when conducted by learning and patriotism, a national blessing; but in its licentiousness a curse to all mankind.

11. Common schools—New England has taught us their value, in the fruits she has produced from her nurseries of science.

12. The Union—"It must be preserved."

13. The State of Ohio—May the devotion of her sons to the institutions of the country keep pace with the improvement of her soil, the increase of her population, and the enterprise of her citizens.

14. The Fair—While they are for union we defy the world.

VOLUNTEERS.

By Daniel Webster. The City of Cincinnati—A beautiful illustration of the co-operation between nature and art. May the prosperity of her citizens be commensurate with their hospitality and enterprise.

By Wm. H. Harrison. Daniel Webster—The true representative of the character and manners of his country. Skilled in all the labors of a farmer (his original profession), he is able to instruct the chief justice of England in the principles of the law which are common to both countries, and to compete with Lord Chancellor Brougham, or any other lord, for the palm of eloquence, and in explaining the principles of "good old English liberty."

Sent by a lady. Daniel Webster—

> "Westward the eastern star has bent his way,
> May *more* than empire bless its cloudless ray."

By W. T. Walker, Esq. Daniel Webster—The Daniel

of his age. He may be cast among lions, as many as you please, but even there you will find him the master spirit.

By Marcus Smith. The Constitution of the United States—Ambiguous and obscure only to the ambitious and corrupt. When assailed by such, may there ever be found among the people a Daniel who can interpret the writing.

By Samuel Findlay. To him who yesterday came among a community of strangers, and to-morrow leaves a community of friends."

The western propensity or passion for discussion is strikingly exemplified in the proceedings of the remarkable "Political Club,"[1] a society which met on Saturday nights in Danville, Kentucky, from 1786 to 1790, and considered, in parliamentary form, the great financial, judicial, and political questions of the period. The members of this somewhat famous organization were Hary Innes, Samuel McDowell, Christopher Greenup, John Brown, Thomas Todd, George Muter, Peyton Short, Thomas Speed, James Speed, Willis Green, James Brown, Baker Ewing, Robert Craddock, B. Tardiveau, Benjamin Sebastian, William Kennedy, John Belli, William McClung, Stephen Ormsby, Wm. McDowell, John Overton, Thomas Allin, Robt. Dougherty, John Barbee, and Abraham Buford.

The people's lyceum, or debating society, had its golden age in the seventy-five years following the great first Fourth of July. In fact, it took the place of schools in sections where education was neglected. The lyceum was a school for both young and old, though its benefits were usually limited to the male sex, and principally to young men. In these last years of the century, women are the leaders in such culture as may be obtained in literary clubs.

Prentice relates that Clay, coming from Virginia to Kentucky at the age of about twenty, joined a debating society at Lexington, in which, like another Burke, he

[1] A history of the Political Club, by Captain Thomas Speed, is promised as a publication of the Filson Club.

won his first laurels as a speaker. Thomas Ewing, at Athens, and Thomas Corwin, at Lebanon, Ohio, by a similar experience, developed their powers of expression in the debating club. The great serviceableness of the debating society in early times can hardly be overestimated.

The ability to think to a point, to hold arguments in mind, to weigh evidence and to form a just opinion, was cultivated, and men learned by such mental practice to perform their public duty as electors, jurors, trustees, and presiding officers. The efforts of a boy to stand up in a country school-house and say, "Mr. President, I think pursuit is better than possession," or, "I believe the pulpit affords a wider field of usefulness than the bar," put his whole mind and body to a test, and gave the tyro a start in thought, expression, and self-control. The aspiring youth, who in the Philomathean or the Eurodelphian Society of the backwoods college, ventured to prove that state sovereignty is preferable to centralization, or that the government should abolish the national bank, or that Hannibal was greater than Scipio, took more interest, perhaps, in such exercise of his faculties than he did in his class-books. In every village were found a few ambitious young fellows who had some real interest in current political issues, and who met in debate for debate's sake. They held spirited contests in argument, wit, and oratory.

The custom prevailed, too, of attending public meetings of all kinds, and talking over the points made by the speakers. This was the way in which Abraham Lincoln began that brave education of his, which the events of the war completed, as he said. Dennis Hanks, when asked by Mr. Herndon how Lincoln managed to learn so much in Southern Indiana, replied: "He learned by sight, scent, and hearing. He heard all that was said, and talked over and over the questions heard. Went to political and other speeches, and would hear all sides and opinions, talk them over, discuss them, agreeing or disagreeing."

The demand for orators and oratory brought forward the elocution teacher. The Philadelphia Portfolio, in

1815, announced that Mr. Ogilvie, of South Carolina College, had recently established a "new branch of education," and "had opened for himself a most splendid and useful career" as professor of eloquence. The new branch became popular in schools of all grades, was cultivated, also, in "exhibitions," thespian societies, and debating juntos.

A most practical adult school for instruction in the rights and duties of citizenship, and also an arena for the exhibition of argument and persuasive declamation, was afforded by the circuit courts, which brought together, at their sessions, the active-minded men of a whole village or neighborhood. Judge James Hall, whose experience at the bar and on the bench, in the early days of Illinois, gave him ample opportunity to observe the facts, has left valuable testimony on this subject of the popular educational influence of the courts. He says, in an article on "Western Character," written in 1833: "Every man is a politician, and becomes, to some extent, acquainted with public affairs. In some of the other states, few persons go into a court of law, unless they have business. It is not so here. Court week is a general holiday. Not only suitors, jurors, and witnesses, but all who can spare the time, brush up their coats, and brush down their horses, and go to court. A stranger is struck with the silence, the eagerness, and deep attention with which these rough sons of the forest listen to the arguments of the lawyers, evincing a lively interest in these proceedings, and thorough understanding of the questions discussed. Besides those alluded to, there are a variety of other public meetings. Every thing is done in this country in popular assemblies, all questions are debated in popular speeches, and decided by popular vote. These facts speak for themselves. Not only must a vast deal of information be disseminated throughout a society thus organized, but the taste for popular assemblies and public harangues, which forms so striking a trait in the western character, is, in itself, a conclusive proof of a high degree of intelligence. Ignorant people would neither relish nor understand the

oratory which our people receive with enthusiastic applause. Ignorant people would not attend such meetings, week after week, and day after day, with unabated interest; nor would they thus go, and *remain* ignorant."

Intelligence and intellect increase, excited by the stimulus of social action and reaction. The camp-meeting, the Fourth of July celebration, the popular debate, the session of the circuit court, each, bringing many together for its special purpose, also became an occasion for the general interchange of ideas, and therefore a means of intellectual and moral culture. Even the horse race furnished a rough school for the betterment of the rude mass. Such, at least, was the opinion of bluff Governor Reynolds, the pioneer historian of Illinois, who compares the sports of the turf to the Olympic games. He tells us that: "At these races almost every description of business was transacted. Horses were swapped and contracts made, debts paid and new ones contracted. Amusements of various species were indulged in. Foot racing, wrestling, and jumping were not neglected. Sometimes shooting matches were executed; so that, in old pioneer times, these horse races were names for meetings, where much other business, or pleasure, was transacted or experienced.

"Small kegs of whisky were often brought to the races—a keg in one end of a bag and a stone in the other, sometimes a keg in each end, was the manner of getting the liquor to the races. Old females, at times, had cakes and metheglin for sale."

Men's powers of thought and utterance were put to the test by the exercise of the democratic art known as "talking politics." The leading themes on which opinion differed in the very earliest pioneer period were, of course, those growing out of the reorganization of the national government, such as are discussed in the several volumes of the Federalist. The doctrines of Jefferson, as opposed to Washington and Adams, excited much partisan talk. In educated circles, the writings of Gibbon, Hume, Voltaire, Rousseau, Volney, were the theme of conversation, *pro* and *con;* while Tom Paine's utterances on politics or

religion were bandied about by the ignorant as well as the learned. The subject of slavery came up in the first session of Congress, and caused an exciting debate, though, at that time, all the states, except Massachusetts, held slaves. The War of 1812 almost obliterated the old political parties, Federal and Republican, and the administration of Monroe, from 1817 to 1825, was called the Era of Good Feeling. Causes were at work, however, which soon again divided the people into distinct parties, under the leadership of John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson.

Before the period in which party lines were strictly drawn, and politics became subject to the management of leaders and conventions, public officers were chosen on account of personal popularity rather than party affiliation. The pioneers voted for *men* not *measures;* and the men, somewhat after the old Roman method, sought the individual ballots of the people, by visiting every voter, and being as "clever" as possible. In Illinois, at the beginning of the century, nearly all the citizens were Jackson men, but they were divided into two factions, known as moderate Jackson men and "whole hog" Jackson men; but in most parts of the West, as in the country at large, the spirit of partisanship drew a bold line of separation between Whig and Democrat. From that time, the Ohio Valley has been the arena of constant, intense party struggle. What an array of famous politicians the region has produced! The excited state of partisan feeling in the early thirties is reflected amusingly by an incident related of a Frenchman who, riding in a coach, in Kentucky, thus expressed himself to a fellow traveler: "Sare," said he, "I come to *Amerique* to see von *grande nation* enjoy de *liberté.* I look for find all broder, all vise. In my *imagination* I see von people dat vork to make the whole happy; dat chose de vise men and de good men for ruler, and in de choice, act togeder like de friend. Mais, parbleu! I find de same fight of dose in de power, and dose out of de power. I find de bribe, de quarrel, de hard word. I go to de *hotel,* and, *ma foi,* dey say, ha! you

Jaqueson or Clay? I get in de stage, and dey say 'gain, you sare, you Jaqueson or Clay? Every-where dey vorry me to piece. Ah, Monsieur! you have von *grande countrie*, you have de people *avec beaucoup de force*, but vid all de liberti, I see much dat vould make me *miserable*. I shall go back to France, sare, dere we have von *revolution*, and all is still again; here, it seems to me, *revolution* all de time. I shall go back to France, sare, *tout a pres*."[1]

As the country grew older, and the power of slavery increased, the Valley of the Ohio became the very tropic and battle-line of sectional interests and antagonisms. The atmosphere was surcharged, from Pittsburg to Cairo, with opposite electricities of passion and conviction. Every steamboat that plied up or down the Beautiful River carried in her cabin a committee of the whole, burdened with the responsibility of saving the country by compromise or by force. Well might Alexander Campbell prophecy, "The time will come, when the controversy will be no longer between Whigs and Democrats, but between North and South." "If the abolition excitement had stirred up Boston," wrote Mrs. Stowe, "it had convulsed Cincinnati." The pro-slavery advocates were not all on the south side of the Ohio, nor the anti-slavery agitators all on the north. In 1804, six Baptist ministers organized a society of "Friends of Humanity," in Kentucky, declaring for the abolition of slavery. Henry Clay was an emancipationist, and Cassius M. Clay, in 1843, set up an anti-slavery paper, "The True American," in Lexington. A committee of sixty, selected at a citizens' meeting, and acting under instructions of a resolution, took forcible possession of Clay's press, and shipped it to Cincinnati, to the care of January and Taylor. Clay entered suit on the charge of riot, but the jury brought in a verdict of "not guilty." James G. Birney, the first anti-slavery candidate for the presidency, a southern man, liberated his slaves, about forty in number, and, coming to Cincinnati, started an abolition paper, the Philanthropist.

[1] See Hall's Western Magazine.

He too was mobbed—his press, types, and other office property were taken out and sunk in the Ohio river. Prejudice ran so high that a large number of boarders left the Franklin House because Birney was received as a guest there.

Southern men of northern principles and northern men of southern principles were found on each side of Mason and Dixon's line, and their collisions led to persecution and even martyrdom. The "Underground Railroad" had many termini along the banks of the Ohio, and its agents were helped by friends and hounded by foes at every border station. Elijah P. Lovejoy was murdered in the free State of Illinois for abolition sentiments, while slave-holding Kentucky produced Tom Corwin, the friend of the bondmen, and gave to the North Abraham Lincoln, the Emancipator.

It was the agitation of political questions, predominantly of the slavery question, that developed the multitude of famous partisan orators for which the West is distinguished. The English scholar and critic, John Nichol, in his comprehensive volume on "American Literature," admits that, "in the eloquence of the pulpit the West has, from the first, excelled." He says, also, "The West has long been noted for fluency — often superfluency — of speech." These remarks, meant to apply to America in general, by Mr. Nichol, may be applied with special appropriateness to the Central West, in the time of which we are writing.

We have already considered the old-time patriotic oratory of the Fourth of July, much of which was for mere academic display of the "glittering generalities" of non-partisan politics; but as time went on, speech-making became a practical art, and employed the ornaments of rhetoric, not so much for display as for the purpose of winning votes, gaining office, obtaining verdicts, and controlling legislation.

The ability to discuss themes of popular concern *viva voce*, was considered a prime requisite in civic training.

Perhaps the early patriots held the Roman conviction that it is every citizen's duty to learn how to fight and how to speak. They certainly cultivated the power of delivery as a patriotic duty, a mark of public efficiency, not less than as a means of political distinction. The renown of the Adamses, Otis, Henry, Ames and Quincy, extending beyond their day and generation, kept alive the early patriotic sentiment, and furnished themes for later orators. The famous speeches of Calhoun, Clay, Webster and Choate, at the beginning of the century, stimulated every young politician to soar and every school-boy to declaim. The newspaper then had not subordinated the stump. Time has shown that of all these great speakers Webster was the greatest. The fact that his orations and speeches have become a part of permanent literature proves their intrinsic merit. Their aggregate influence, exercised through school-books alone upon the minds of American youth, must be vast.

Most distinguished of the orators of the Ohio Valley in the popular estimation was Henry Clay. The testimony of his contemporaries, both friends and opponents, is that his magnetic power, as a public speaker, was irresistible. But the cool verdict of criticism as to the quality and style of his preserved speeches does not sustain the popular decision of fifty years ago. A recent careful and judicious writer has said that Clay's "speeches are too often tawdry and inelegant. Their cheap finery makes their bad English all the more apparent. What is worse, the underlying thought is, too often, neither profound nor valuable."

We should bear in mind that by far the greater number of eloquent political speeches addressed directly to the people, like the thrilling sermons of the camp-meeting, were never consigned to print or to writing. We are obliged to judge of Clay and others, not by their most moving efforts, but by such speeches as are preserved in congressional records. In selecting a specimen to illustrate the average style of Henry Clay, I have chosen a passage which also conveys interesting particulars in his

own personal career. The extract is taken from the statesman's valedictory addressed to the Senate in 1842.

"Every-where throughout the extent of this great continent I have had cordial, warm-hearted, faithful and devoted friends who have known me, loved me, and appreciated my motives. To them, if language were capable of fully expressing my acknowledgments, I would now offer all the return I have the power to make for their genuine, disinterested, and persevering fidelity and devoted attachment, the feelings and sentiments of a heart overflowing with never-ceasing gratitude. If, however, I fail in suitable language to express my gratitude to *them* for all the kindness they have shown me, what shall I say, what *can* I say at all commensurate with those feelings of gratitude with which I have been inspired by the state whose humble representative I have been in this chamber? [Here Mr. C.'s feelings overpowered him, and he proceeded with deep sensibility and difficult utterance.]

"I emigrated from Virginia to the State of Kentucky now nearly forty-five years ago; I went as an orphan boy who had not yet attained the age of majority; who had never recognized a father's smile, nor felt his warm caresses; poor, penniless, without the favor of the great, with an imperfect and neglected education, hardly sufficient for the ordinary business and common pursuits of life; but scarce had I set my foot upon her generous soil when I was embraced with parental fondness, caressed as though I had been a favorite child, and patronized with liberal and unbounded munificence. From that period the highest honors of the state have been freely bestowed upon me; and when, in the darkest hour of calamity and detraction, I seemed to be assailed by all the rest of the world, she interposed her broad and impenetrable shield, repelled the poisoned shafts that were aimed for my destruction, and vindicated my good name from every malignant and unfounded aspersion. I return with indescribable pleasure, to linger a while longer, and mingle with the warm-hearted and whole-souled people of that state; and when the last scene shall forever close upon me, I hope

that my earthly remains will be laid under her green sod with those of her gallant and patriotic sons."

Kentucky has produced a multitude of political orators scarcely inferior to Clay. Among those who, in the formative period of our history, made the force of their intellect and knowledge felt by the mastery of language in courts of justice, on the floors of congress, or from the stump, were George Nicholas, born 1743, died 1799; John Breckenridge, born 1756, died 1806; John Rowan, born 1783, died 1843; William T. Barry, born 1783, died 1835; and John J. Crittenden, born 1786, died 1863. These all occupied high positions in state and nation, and were of the mighty thunderers of their day. Barry and Crittenden were considered fit colleagues of Clay, and were competitors with him at the bar. Barry's eloquence is described as of that fiery and vehement character so much applauded by our ancestors. Judge Jesse Bledsoe, of Lexington, was another orator of note.

Coming down to later years, we find frequent mention, in political records, of the commanding eloquence of the Marshalls, Thomas F. and Humphrey; Richard H. Menifee, after whom Menifee county is named; Joseph Hamilton Daveiss, the eminent lawyer and judge who spoke against Burr in 1837; the Breckenridges, especially John Cabell Breckenridge, Vice-President and U. S. Senator; and also Benjamin Hardin and General John Pope.

An orator not inferior to Clay in his ability to sway and fascinate an audience, and more skillful than he in literary art, was Thomas Corwin.

Though born in Kentucky [July 29, 1794], Corwin was by adoption an Ohio man, and Ohio people will long continue to revere his name. Though he himself said, with melancholy self-depreciation, near the end of his life, "I am but a tradition!" it was not so. Such a man does not pass quickly into oblivion. The remembrance of Corwin's humor preserves his name as in a precious balm. The recollection of his humanity and love of liberty keeps his fame fresh in history. This great and good man, whose lips nature touched with the living fire of eloquence,

began his public career, as a lawyer, in 1817. He went to Congress in 1830, and was chosen governor of Ohio in 1840. Subsequently he was United States Senator, Secretary of the Treasury, and Minister to Mexico. His speeches are now but little read, yet they possess the highest order of excellence as to style and substance. A most delightful sketch of the life of Corwin has been written by Hon. A. P. Russell.[1]

Of the many striking incidents related by Mr. Russell, none is more impressive than that of Corwin's making a speech at Lebanon, Ohio, to his old friends, in defense of the position he had taken in Congress against the prosecution of the Mexican War. The speech was not reported, but his auditors pronounced it the greatest oratorical achievement of his life. Russell says: "The audience dissolved of itself, swarming over the streets and sidewalks, nearly every auditor going his own way, alone. Schenk and Stevenson walked down the street together, but did not speak a word for a block or two. All at once Schenk ejaculated: "What a speech!" "Yes," responded Stevenson, with Kentucky emphasis, "what a speech! I was born and bred in a land of orators; have been accustomed all my life to hear such giants as Clay and Menifee, but, blessed be God! I never heard a speech like that!"

Mr. Russell tells us there was not a humorous word in this speech—"It was grave, sober, serious, tragic." The same can hardly be said of any other of his speeches, not even of that stern, dignified, and stately one of February 11, 1847, in the Senate, which contained the sentence that destroyed his political influence—the thousand times repeated sen-

[1] Addison Peale Russell, of Wilmington, Ohio, born and bred in the Buckeye State, after retiring from an honorable career of public service to his state and nation, has devoted himself for the last twenty years or more to reading and authorship. His reputation is established upon enduring foundations, as a "man of letters," in the true sense. His published works, besides the "Sketch of Corwin," include "Half Tints," "Library Notes," "Characteristics," "A Club of One," and "In a Club Corner," the last four belonging to a species of pure literature, *sui generis*, and altogether delightful.

tence, "If I were a Mexican, I would tell you, 'Have you not room in your own country to bury your dead men? If you come into mine, we will greet you with bloody hands, and welcome you to hospitable graves.'"

"Tom" Corwin's humor was of that high order which is found associated with pathos and poetic sensibility. The fact that he deprecated his own reputation as a laughter-causer, proves the superior delicacy of his nature. The mere clown, buffoon, or "popular humorist," experiences no reactive compunctions, feels no self-disgust or humiliation in playing the part of the harlequin. Corwin stooped to conquer by exercising his wonderful faculty of mimicry and ludicrous illustration, much as Lincoln did when he carried a point in statesmanship by telling an apt anecdote.

The long list of Ohio's distinguished orators is graced by the name of Thomas Ewing, once almost as popular as Corwin. He was born in 1789, in the State of Virginia. In boyhood he came to Athens, Ohio, and there and afterward at Lancaster, Ohio, won his way, by hard work, to power and distinction. Ewing was the first graduate of Ohio University, the oldest college west of the Alleghenies and north of the Ohio river. Like Corwin, he began his career as a lawyer, being admitted to the bar in 1816. He was elected to the United States Senate in 1830. He was appointed Secretary of the Treasury by Harrison, and Secretary of the Interior by Taylor. Ewing has often been instanced as a brilliant example of the class called self-made men. His oratory, though not so fervid as that of Clay, nor so entertaining as that of Corwin, was sound, practical, and persuasive. General James H. Baker said of Ewing, that "He was stately and superb. His speeches were as dignified as his person was erect and noble. He was like a Roman Senator, in the gravity of his discourse and the decorum of his style."

Previous to the years in which the slavery question became the customary theme of debate in Congress, an Ohio Senator—one who should not be forgotten—threw down the gage of battle, in the name of emancipation

for the black man, and read to Henry Clay a higher gospel of liberty than had hitherto been preached in public. That courageous man was Thomas Morris, born in the auspicious year 1776, whose plain eloquence was the inspiration of men like Garrison and Chase. He died in 1830.

Thomas Lyon Hamer, born 1800, died 1846, a famed Ohio lawyer, was an orator of peculiar energy and directness. Reminiscences of his powerful pleadings float in the air of Southern Ohio. Judge John McLean, born 1785, died 1861, who trained his vigorous native ability in a debating society, when young, was distinguished for solid and convincing speech, at the bar and on the bench. Hon. Bellamy Storer, born 1796, died 1875, impressive and stately in manner, profound in attainment, was one of the most potent, intellectual, and moral powers of an eventful generation. Joshua R. Giddings, born 1795, died 1864, and Benjamin F. Wade, born 1800, died 1864—what American has not heard of their powers in debate, their intense zeal for the principles they championed, and their honorable triumphs in the lists of argument? Samuel Galloway, born 1811, died 1872, another valiant knight in the tournament of ideas, knew how to use his tongue as a lance. He was a great lawyer, with that command of language which controls juries; he had wit and humor to abet knowledge and logic. Salmon P. Chase, born 1808, died 1873; bold, earnest, aggressive, yet composed and sedate in deportment upon the platform or parliamentary floor, was an orator who, like Gladstone, made statistics eloquent. John Brough, born 1811, died 1865, Ohio's "war governor," is said to have been, in his earlier years, "a torrent of eloquence." Whitelaw Reid said Brough's "style was clear, fluent, and logical, while at times he was impassioned." The Hon. Henry Stanbery, born 1814, died 1883, possessed perhaps the surest and strongest element of conviction and persuasion, the eloquence of perfect lucidity. Many other eminent Ohio orators might be named, as Robert C. Schenk, John A. Bingham, Charles Anderson, James A. Garfield, Lewis D. Campbell, Durbin

Ward—but enough have been mentioned for the illustration of our subject.

Coming into the field of political action somewhat later than Kentucky and Ohio, the states of Indiana and Illinois, like their sister commonwealths, produced each a series of orators of more than local distinction. Indiana has a large share in the early history of President W. H. Harrison, one of the most effective public speakers of his time. The name of Hon. Richard W. Thompson (born 1809), the prominent Whig politician, stands, perhaps, at the top of the list of the Indiana orators of the ante-bellum period. Other exceptionally eloquent men were Hon. Joseph Albert Wright (born 1810, died 1867), Hon. Tilgham A. Howard, Hon. Joseph G. Marshall, and the "brilliant but erratic" Hon. Edward A. Hannegan. Notable in the history of their state and nation, for commanding powers of speech, are Hon. J. G. Dunn, Hon. Caleb B. Smith, and Hon. Oliver H. Smith. The names of Hon. H. S. Lane, Hon. David Turpie, and Hon. D. W. Voorhees could not be omitted from the catalogue of Indiana orators. Associated with the war period is the great name of Governor Oliver P. Morton, a very forcible speaker; and of the no less famous Democratic leader, Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks (born 1819, died 1885), Vice-President of the United States. The Hon. Schuyler Colfax won a reputation for eloquent speech, not only on the political rostrum, but also on the lecture platform.

Illinois furnishes an array of illustrious politicians and lawyers, many of whom are celebrated for oratorical ability. The intensely exciting political discussions which preceded the civil war brought into conspicuous prominence two powerful debaters whose "stump" speeches were published in pamphlet form and distributed all over the United States. The word combats of Stephen A. Douglas versus Abraham Lincoln were dramatic encounters, tournaments of argument, jousts of wit. Douglas, the "Little Giant," was a statesman worthy of the steel of "Old Abe the Rail Splitter." But the latter was the born orator.

The descriptions of Lincoln's oratory by those who ac-

tually heard it usually dwell upon the effect rather than the style of the speaker's eloquence. Gaunt, ungainly, and peculiar, as were Lincoln's form and features, odd and awkward as were his gestures, we are told that audiences listening to his words thought but little of his personal appearance or manner, but were interested to absorption by his ideas. He always had something important and forcible to say, and said it directly and simply. His eloquence was in the substance, not the sound. And yet the form of his utterance was nearly perfect. The Gettysburg oration and the famous inaugurals were "born great." They are literature. They may be printed side by side with the choicest passages of Webster or Burke, and not suffer in the comparison.

The Lecture Platform.

In this and the preceding chapter, the subject of pulpit eloquence and political oratory has been treated very discursively, but, perhaps, with sufficient method to show how large a part popular speaking played in forming and controlling opinion in the Ohio Valley, from the very beginning of western institutions. It remains to add a few sentences about another species of oral literature—the general lecture.

With the establishment of colleges, and schools of law and medicine, came, necessarily, courses of didactic lectures. In the several departments of Transylvania University, Lexington, Kentucky, such men as Holley, Bledsoe, Caldwell, Drake, made their teaching attractive by employing the arts of fine delivery. Henry Clay himself was at one time a professor of law in Lexington.

When the Western Museum was organized in Cincinnati, just after the War of 1812, a chief attraction offered by its trustees to the public was a course of scientific lectures. Mons. Dorfeuille, the manager of the museum, gave many lectures on birds, minerals, and other objects illustrative of natural history. Prof. T. J. Matthews delivered an address before the museum society, confuting Captain Symmes's theory of Concentric Spheres.

In the autumn of 1828 Dr. John Locke, an eminent teacher, gave in Cincinnati a course of lectures on natural philosophy. By request he gave also a discourse on the utility of mechanics' institutes, which led to the incorporation of the Ohio Mechanics' Institute, February 9, 1829. In the Winter of 1833–4, Calvin E. Stowe lectured before the Mechanics' Institute on the "History of Letters," and Judge James Hall gave an address on the "Importance of Forming a First Class Library in Cincinnati."

The Young Men's Mercantile Library Association was organized in 1835, and, like the Mechanics' Institute, it employed the popular lecture as a means of interesting the public in matters of polite culture. Under the auspices of this body, many of the most able public lecturers of the country appeared before Cincinnati audiences. Among the more distinguished of these were Robert Dale Owen, Horace Greeley, Alexander Campbell, Cassius M. Clay, Rev. Henry Giles, Prof. O. M. Mitchel, Park Benjamin, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Otway Curry, John G. Saxe, E. H. Chapin, E. P. Whipple, Orville Dewey, Thomas Starr King, George W. Curtis, Parke Godwin, Bayard Taylor, Rev. John Pierpont, H. W. Bellows, O. W. Holmes, George P. Marsh, and Wendell Phillips. In 1857, Edward Everett delivered his celebrated oration on Washington, before the association, free of charge.

When, on November 9, 1843, the corner-stone of the Cincinnati Observatory was laid, an oration on astronomy was delivered by John Quincy Adams—the last speech of importance made by the "old man eloquent." Many brilliant lectures were given in the West, by O. M. Mitchel, on astronomy and other scientific themes. Another very distinguished lecturer on physical and chemical science was Prof. Daniel Vaughan, the "peripatetic" philosopher of the Ohio Valley.

The Herald of Truth, for February, 1848, has the following editorial item:

"There is at this time an unusual degree of intellectual activity in Cincinnati. The Young Men's Mercantile Library Association have a course of very able lectures in

progress which are attended by a large portion of the first minds in the city. Then there is a course of lectures on early American eloquence, by Rev. E. L. Magoon; on constitutional history, By William Green, Esq.; and on the duties and responsibilities of the American citizen, by Rev. C. B. Boynton; which afford a rich treat to the intellectual and moral man. Then we have a debate on phrenology and philosophy, by and between Dr. N. L. Rice and Prof. J. R. Buchanan, which call out large crowds to hear great principles discussed, such as—whether phrenology teaches a system of fatalism, and whether philosophy and Christianity are consistent with each other. Then we have recently had a course of lectures by F. W. Thomas, author of the popular novel, "Clinton Bradshaw," on those illuminated Methodist seers, Wesley, Whitfield, and Somerfield, which attracted so much attention as to induce a request for their repetition. These are only some of the most prominent of the substantial mental doings of the city at present. There is nothing so important as keeping up a high mental activity, so that the great cause of truth may be advanced, goodness increased, and happiness promoted. This is, indeed, the only true mode of procuring reform—get the mind right, and human institutions will become what they should be."

Early in the fifties, Horace Mann came to Ohio as president of Antioch College; and, great apostle of education and culture that he was, he spoke in many cities and towns, to crowded audiences, on the great moral and intellectual questions, not of the hour, but of all time. His most celebrated discourse, "To Young Men," took strong hold on the memory and the conduct of its numberless hearers and readers.

The Genius of the West, for November, 1854, contains the following:

"We are informed that nearly every town in the West will this winter have one or more courses of lectures. That committees may have an ample list to select from,

we quote from the New York Tribune the list of eastern lecturers:

"Ralph Waldo Emerson, Concord, Mass.; Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, Brooklyn, L. I.; Rev. Edwin H. Chapin, New York city; Rev. H. Giles, Rockport, Me.; John G. Saxe, Burlington, Vt.; Bayard Taylor, New York city; Edwin P. Whipple, Boston, Mass.; Park Benjamin, Guilford, Ct.; Wendell Phillips, Boston, Mass.; Geo. W. Curtis, New York city; Rev. T. Starr King, Boston, Mass.; William Elder, Philadelphia, Pa.; Parke Godwin, New York city; Rev. John Pierpont, Medford, Mass.; Rt. Rev. Alonzo Potter, Philadelphia, Pa.; Josiah Quincy, Jr., Boston, Mass.; Rev. Joseph P. Thompson, New York city; William H. C. Hosmer, Avon, N. Y.; Henry D. Thoreau, Concord, Mass."

Now, from the Sandusky Register, we quote a list of western lecturers:

"Wm. D. Gallagher, Louisville; Hon. Bellamy Storer, Cincinnati; Judge E. Lane, Sandusky; Prof. Lorin Andrews, Gambier; Rev. A. A. Livermore, Cincinnati; Horace Mann, Yellow Springs, O.; Cassius M. Clay, Ky.; S. D. Harris, Columbus; Prof. Asa D. Lord, Columbus; D. W. Clark, D.D., Cincinnati; Coates Kinney, Cincinnati; James W. Taylor, State Librarian, Columbus; Prof. O. M. Mitchel, Cincinnati; General S. F. Cary, College Hill; Jas. A. Briggs, Cleveland; Wm. T. Coggeshall, Cincinnati; Prof. St. John, Hudson; Prof. Kirtland, Cleveland; Rev. J. W. McClung, Indianapolis; S. S. Cox, Esq., Columbus; Prof. Hamilton Smith, Cleveland; L. A. Hine, Loveland, O.; H. Clay Pate, Cincinnati.

"According to the Tribune, prices for the eastern list must be '*quoted*' at from $40 to $75 for a single lecture; and, according to the Register, '*quotations*' for the western list will range from $15 to $25. In the two lists there are 'scope and verge' for the gratification of every taste as well as for the capacity of every purse."

In October, 1855, the Genius published another list of western lecturers, containing the names of Dr. Edward Thompson, Delaware, O.; Dr. I. J. Allen, College Hill,

O.; Samuel Galloway, Columbus, O.; James A. Briggs, Cleveland, O.; Rev. Sidney Dyer, Indianapolis; Rev. S. W. Fisher, Cincinnati; Prof. Thoms, Cleveland; J. H. Baker, Chillicothe, O.; Prof. Jos. R. Buchanan, Cincinnati; W. H. Gibson, Tiffin, O.; John C. Zachos, Yellow Springs, O.; Prof. C. B. Jocelyn, Centerville, Ind.; D. Carlyle MacCloy, Piqua, O.; O. J. Victor, Sandusky, O.; C. N. Olds, Circle ville, O.; Rev. D. W. Clark, Cincinnati; Donald MacLeod, Cincinnati; Alphonso Wood, College Hill, O.

CHAPTER VIII.[1]

PLANTING OF LITERARY INSTITUTIONS AT VINCENNES, INDIANA—LIBRARIES, SCHOOLS, AND THE PRESS.

The beginning of literary culture at Vincennes, and, I may say, in the Indiana Territory, dates from the organization of the territory in the year 1800. Before that, very little, if any thing, was done in the way of encouraging literature. The inhabitants of this place were a mixture of Canadian settlers and Creoles, resulting from the intermarriage of the Canadian French with the native Indian races. The Canadian settlers were generally well educated, but devoted all their time and attention to trading and making money. Some of these Canadian traders and the French commandants of the "Old Post" have left behind them writings and documents which fully attest that they were men of culture. Such were Francois Morgan de Vincenne, who built the first fort here in the year 1702, St. Ange Paul Gamelin, and many others I could mention. But they did nothing toward laying the foundation of any institution or organization designed to spread knowledge among the people.

The Catholic priests who resided here and ministered from about the year 1709 until the present time, as pastors of St. Francis Xavier church, were all learned and educated men, and did all they could to educate the youth of the place. But their efforts were poorly seconded by the people. Benedict I. Flaget, who was the pastor here in 1792, and who afterward became widely known as bishop of Bardstown, Kentucky, may be said to be the first who moved in this direction with success, by establishing here

[1] For this chapter I am indebted to Henry S. Cauthorn, Esq., of Vincennes, Indiana.—W. H. V.

schools free for both boys and girls, without respect to religious belief, and which schools so inaugurated by him in 1835 have been continued by the Catholic Church here ever since; and these parochial free schools are now in a flourishing condition, having all modern facilities for educational purposes, and rivaling the public schools in rank, attendance, and in every way. These free schools so established by Bishop Bruté, and successfully continued by his successors, were the only ones available to the public until the present public system was inaugurated under the present constitution of the State of Indiana, about the year 1854.

Bishop Bruté was a pious and saintly man, and devoted his entire life to benefit and ameliorate the condition of his fellow-men. After establishing the free schools above referred to, he was preparing to found in this place a free industrial school for the education of the young men of the place in the useful arts and trades. This was certainly a novel undertaking, and the first attempt, at least in the North-west Territory, to establish such a school. He had about completed his arrangements for the foundation of this school, when his useful career was terminated by his death in the year 1839. His successor did not prosecute the work and carry out his intentions in this matter, and, consequently, such a useful school was never actually established.

Bishop Bruté was a learned man and also a hard student. The Catholic Church here, when he came as bishop, possessed the foundation of a library, containing many valuable manuscripts and old church records in several different languages, throwing much light on the early history of Vincennes. The valuable records and writings in the church library were neglected and never examined by any one, so far as the public knows, until he came here. He diligently examined and studied these manuscripts and old church records, and commenced the publication of a series of articles in the Western Sun newspaper on the early history of the church and town, which he continued up to the time of his death, on June 26, 1839. These

communications of Bishop Bruté are the source from which Judge Law derived much of the matter contained in a celebrated address on Vincennes, and they threw a flood of light on all matters connected with the early history of Vincennes. It was from these articles of Bishop Bruté, published in the Western Sun during the years 1838 and 1839, that the citizens of Vincennes were first advised how the town itself acquired its name.

The library of St. Francis Xavier church above spoken of is, without doubt, the oldest foundation in the entire North-west. Its foundation commenced with that of the church itself, as the church records constitute a valuable part of it. The church was founded about the same time the fort was built, in the year 1702. It is recorded in the Quebec Annals that a Jesuit father, as a preliminary step in the matter of building the fort, first offered up the holy sacrifice of the mass before the officers and soldiers who came to build the fort and many thousands of assembled savages. This was in accordance with French usage on commencing any important work or undertaking.

The records of the church, as preserved in the library, go back only to the year 1749. The book in which they are recorded is without cover or title-page, and bears evident marks of mutilation, and that something preceding has been torn off. The first entry in the record, as it appears at present, is the marriage, on June 21, 1749, of Julian Trattier, of Montreal, Canada, with Josette Marie, a Creole half-breed. The second entry is the baptism of an Indian child, named John Baptiste Siapichagane, on the 25th June, 1749. Both of these entries in the record are in beautiful handwriting in the Latin language, as all the church records are, and signed by Sebastian Louis Meurin, a Jesuit missionary, who was pastor of the church here at that time. These church records are the foundation or corner-stone of the church library, which therefore dates, beyond question, to June 21, 1749, and therefore it outranks, in the matter of antiquity, any similar institution in the North-west. This library has from time to time been enlarged and enriched by additions secured through

the four deceased bishops, who all resided here, and died and were buried here. It was also added to by donations from the many learned pastors who have been stationed here, and from many other sources, until at present it contains as many as ten thousand rare and valuable volumes in four or five different languages, and many of them in manuscript form and found nowhere else. The library has a large and substantial brick building erected especially for its use. The bishops of the diocese who resided and died here were all natives of France, and some of them were descended from rich, influential, and noble families, and particularly Bishop De La Hailaudiere and Bishop De St. Palais. They all made many trips to France to collect funds, and otherwise to aid the diocese over which they presided; and on account of the influence and standing of their families in France, as well as on account of their own merit and influence, they were able to secure many of the rare and valuable books now found in the church library.

But, notwithstanding what I have said, it may be taken as undoubtedly true that the great mass of the population here before the organization of the territorial government, and for many years afterward, were illiterate, not being able either to read or write.

On the 7th day of May, 1800, Indiana Territory was created by act of Congress, and William Henry Harrison was appointed the first territorial governor, and the capital of the territory was fixed at Vincennes. The place where the capital was thus located was well known already throughout the country, and ranked as the most important place in the territory, which, at the time, embraced the entire North-west Territory outside of Ohio. The settlement of Vincennes may be said to date from the fall of the year 1702. It had been visited often prior to that date by fur-traders and Jesuit missionaries; but, in the fall of 1702, Francois Morgan De Vincenne came here from Detroit with French troops, and built the first fort here. This was one of that chain of forts by which the

French government designed to connect their Canadian possessions on the north with their southern possessions on the Gulf of Mexico. It was that historic fort which was afterward known as Fort Sackville, and which was, on February 24, 1779, taken, with Virginia troops, by George Rogers Clark, from the English under Hamilton, and which capture is one of the important events in the history of the North-west Territory. About the same time the fort was built, Saint Francis Xavier Church was founded here by Jesuit missionaries, and it has continued in an almost unbroken succession to the present day. The records of this church, still preserved, go back in a connected series, as I have stated, to the year 1749. The records prior to that date have been destroyed, and, in all probability, in consequence of the death of the resident pastor of the church in 1734, who was Father Senat. In 1734 he accompanied De Vincenne on the unfortunate expedition against the Chickasaw Indians, as the spiritual adviser of the troops. The French met with a severe repulse in an engagement with the Indians, and the troops were almost all killed, and both Father Senat and De Vincenne were captured by the victorious Indians, and, after being cruelly tortured, were put to death in the most inhuman manner.

The population of Vincennes at the time the territorial government was organized was composed almost exclusively of Canadian French settlers and half-breed Creoles. But the organization of the territorial government and the location of the capital here greatly added to the advancement and prosperity of the town, and its population rapidly increased. Aspiring and ambitious men came quickly in great numbers from all the old states, but more especially from New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Kentucky.

Governor Harrison, soon after his appointment, came to this place with his family and located here, and erected what may be called, considering the date, a princely mansion. It is still standing, in a good state of preservation, as one of the few remaining monuments of territorial

days, and is one of the most convenient and substantial brick residences of Vincennes.

With the advent of the governor and the sessions of the territorial legislature and the sessions of the territorial courts, some of the men who afterward acquired fame and distinction as jurists, legislators, and educators in the North-west came and located here, and here began their brilliant career. Among these I mention Alexander Buckner, afterward United States senator from Missouri; Thomas Randolph, the United States district attorney for the territory; Zachary Taylor, afterward President of the United States, whose daughter, who afterward became the wife of Jefferson Davis, was born here; Thomas F. Richardson, of the United States army, who was killed October 13, 1813, by Irvin Wallace in a duel; Walter Taylor, one of the first United States senators from Indiana; Benjamin Parke, afterward delegate in Congress and judge of the United States District Court; Judge Johnson, Edward A. Hannegan, who married here, John Law, John Ewing, Moses Tabbs, a near relative of Charles Carroll, of Carrolton, Judge Blackford, George R. C. Sullivan, Thomas Posey, Jonathan Doty, John Gibson, William Prince, John Rice Jones, and many others whose names are inseparably connected with the settlement and civilization of the great states that have since been carved out of what at first constituted the Indiana Territory.

In 1804 Elihu Stout came here from Lexington, Kentucky, and commenced the publication of the Western Sun newspaper. This was the first newspaper printed in the Indiana Territory, and its publication has been continued, with only slight interruptions, to the present time, and it is now one of the most influential newspapers in this section. Its establishment was attended with great difficulty. The material for the paper was transported from Louisville, Kentucky, down the Ohio river and up the Wabash, in what were then called "piroques." For many years after, the supplies for the paper were brought here on pack horses over the old buffalo trace. The first issue of the paper appeared on the fourth day of July,

1804. Mr. Stout was elected territorial printer, and was continued in that position as long as the capital remained here and for some years after. He published all the acts of the territorial legislature and the official documents of the territorial government, and, in book form, two compilations of all the territorial laws. All these publications are in existence at the present time. A file of each number of the paper was carefully preserved, and each volume, containing the issues of a year, substantially bound. These files of the paper which have been preserved date from 1806 to 1845, when Mr. Stout sold the establishment, on being appointed postmaster here. Mr. Stout was my grandfather, and from him I have in my possession the files of the paper. The issues from 1804 to 1806 were destroyed by fire in the latter year. The old files of this paper contain a vast fund of historic matter, throwing light upon public questions during territorial days. They also contain, in every number, able communications, written by some of the eminent men who lived here at that time, upon all subjects of public interest. It was the only medium through which they could reach the public. Its columns were free and open to all, and discussions *pro* and *con* of all questions were permitted and can be found in its columns. At that time Vincennes may be said to have concentrated in its population all the literary culture and talent of the Indiana Territory.

As early as 1806, the talented and aspiring young men who had settled here established what they called a "Thespian Society," and gave entertainments as often as once a week and sometimes oftener. These histrionic exhibitions were liberally patronized by the citizens and were well attended, and were very entertaining, instructive, and successful. The society continued to exist and flourish until several years after the admission of the state into the Union, and with a waning existence until as late as 1830. All the younger members of the bar, the surgeons and officers of the army, the medical profession, and many of the merchants and those engaged in the trades took part in these literary performances. A programme

of the play and the cast of characters was printed by the editor of the Sun, who also took part in the performances. I have files of many of these printed programmes.

In 1804 congress passed an act setting aside an entire township of land, for a seminary of learning in the Indiana Territory. The many able men who then made Vincennes their home, were not slow to take advantage of this liberal grant on the part of congress. In 1806 they procured an act to be passed by the territorial legislature, locating the proposed institution here, under the name and style of the "Vincennes University." A portion of the land in the township donated by congress was sold, and with the proceeds a large and commodious brick edifice was erected for the university. The territorial act named the board of trustees to manage and control the university, and constituted them a corporation with perpetual succession, and also gave them the power to fill any vacancy that might occur in the board from any cause. This board organized by electing Governor Harrison president, and the institution at once started on its career of usefulness with the brighest prospects. All branches of education, including a classical course, were taught. This institution is now in a flourishing condition, and every year is sending out graduates, thoroughly educated, and fully prepared to enter on the battle of life. It ranks with any similar institution in the West, but it has not had a prosperous and continued existence. It was hampered and suspended in its work in consequence of the state legislature attempting to change its location to Bloomington, and to divert the endowment of land donated by congress for its maintainance and support. But after a long and expensive litigation with varying results, in both the Supreme Court of Indiana, and the United States Supreme Court, the Vincennes University finally triumphed, and started anew on its career, and will not, it is to be hoped, be again interfered with. It is worthy of note, that in this litigation the state courts, in all their decisions, were adverse to the Vincennes University, and

its ultimate success was obtained through the decisions of United States Supreme Court.

In consequence of the immense advantages accruing to Vincennes as the capital of the territory, and the seat of the territorial courts, a large number of able lawyers from all the old states came to this place, and, by the time the territorial capital was removed to Corydon, in 1812, Vincennes possessed the most gifted, eloquent, and able bar in the West. Among the many distinguished lawyers who settled and practiced here, I name the following: General W. Johnson, afterward circuit judge; John Johnson, one of the first judges of the Supreme Court; Isaac Blackford, also a judge of the Supreme Court, who obtained distinction by his many and able decisions on the bench, but still more and lasting fame, as the author of the eight volumes of the decisions of that court that bear his name; Thomas Randolph, a member of the distinguished Virginia family of that name; Jacob Call, afterward a member of congress, and judge of the Circuit Court when he died; David Hart; Samuel Judah, at one time United States District Attorney; Charles Dewey; William Prince; John Rice Jones; Henry Vanderburgh; Benjamin Parke; James Blake; George R. C. Sullivan; John Law, and Alexander Buckner. They organized and maintained, until a period as late as 1830, a bar association. Many of these continued to reside here until their death; but many left Vincennes after starting on their career, and sought other homes in the Northwest, and acquired fame and distinction as statesmen or jurists.

In 1808, the citizens of this place, realizing its historic importance, and desirous of preserving and perpetuating a lasting record of it, organized a society which they named the "Vincennes Historical and Antiquarian Society." This society numbered among its members all the able and cultured residents of the place. Great interest was taken in this organization for many years, and its work was prosperous. Regular meetings were held, and occasionally lectures upon historic subjects connected with

the early settlement of the place and the entire Northwest were delivered under the auspices of this society. It was on such an occasion, on February 22, 1839, that Judge Law delivered his celebrated address on the Antiquity and Early Settlement of Vincennes. John Ewing and many others also delivered addresses before this society. All these addresses were published at the time in the Western Sun newspaper, but were never compiled and published in book form. This society created a cabinet of all kinds of historic relics, and during its active and healthy existence had accumulated quite a numerous collection. These relics of historic value were kept in a room in the old "Town Hall," for many years after the society practically ceased to exist. But, upon the organization of the present city government in 1856, when this room was needed for municipal purposes, these valuable and interesting curiosities were rudely and carelessly thrown into an old garret. Among the many valuable historic treasures of this society which were thus carelessly and wantonly thrown aside, was an oil painting of George Rogers Clark, painted from life. It had been presented by General Clark's namesake, George Rogers Clark Sullivan, who was my great-uncle on my mother's side. This historic and valuable painting was luckily preserved from total destruction by one of our old citizens, who recognized it and knew its value, and the same is now deposited in the archives of the Vincennes University, where many other relics of the collection of this society are preserved.

In the year 1808, the "Vincennes Library" was founded, and incorporated by an act of the territorial legislature. This library was highly favored by the cultured men who then resided here, and they all liberally contributed to it rare and valuable works upon law, philosophy, medicine, history, fiction, and general literature. With these contributions the Vincennes Library, from its very inception, possessed a valuable catalogue of between three and four thousand volumes. The library was not increased as to the number of its volumes after the state was admitted to the Union. It was, however, a very prosperous institu-

from its foundation for many years, but was gradually permitted to expire for want of interest. Symmes Harrison was, for a number of years, the librarian, and he took a deep interest in the library as long as he resided here. His father donated to it many volumes, as also did David Hart, Moses Tabbs, John Ewing, Walter Taylor, John Rice Jones, Irvin Wallace, and many others. It practically went out of existence in 1860. Many of the valuable volumes that were once in this library were carried off after the library was neglected, and can not be found. The volumes that remained were given over to the care and keeping of the Vincennes University, and are being cared for by the trustees of that institution.

In this connection I will further state that, in 1836, the young men of Vincennes formed a library association under the name of the "Youth's Library of Vincennes." This was very popular for many years, and a large number of volumes of standard works were purchased. But interest in it waned, and it passed out of existence in a few years.

In 1850, with funds derived from the estate of McClure, a wealthy citizen of Posey county, Indiana, who by his last will left a large sum of money to found libraries in every county in Indiana for the exclusive use of workingmen, the workingmen of Vincennes established a library association under the name of the "McClure Workingmen's Library." A large number of valuable books was purchased, but the library never amounted to any thing as a beneficial institution. It lingered along in a sickly and waning condition, but the workingmen, who alone were entitled to the use of its books, never could be induced to take an abiding interest in it, and it soon met the fate of several predecessors.

In 1852, the state legislature passed an act appropriating money to found a library in each civil township in Indiana. A large sum was spent in the purchase of books, which were distributed to the different civil townships of the state, under the control of the township trustees. But they took very little interest in the township library, so far as

I have any knowledge upon the subject, and the books very soon were either lost or destroyed. This attempt to establish libraries throughout the state resulted in signal failure; and no one was benefited by the attempt, except, perhaps, the persons who sold the books, and they only to the extent of the profits they realized from their sales.

In 1809, the citizens of Vincennes organized the first agricultural society ever formed in the West. It had for its object the stimulation of agricultural pursuits, and proposed to hold fairs and award premiums for the best specimens of agricultural products. It organized by electing Symmes Harrison as president, and in the fall of the year 1809 held its first fair and distributed premiums amounting to four hundred dollars. It continued to exist and held several fairs up to 1817. In that year the society called a public meeting to take measures to have the fair association incorporated by an act of legislature, and thus place it on a sure and firm basis. This was the first attempt that I know of being made in the West to have such an association incoporated by law. It met with no success, but was again renewed in 1835, but no act of incorporation was brought about until 1852, when the legislature passed the general law incorporating the State Board of Agriculture.

In 1809, Benjamin Parke formed the first Bible Society that was ever organized here, or perhaps in the Northwest. He was made president of this society, which was very successful as long as he was connected with it. But when he was appointed judge of the District Court of Indiana, he removed to Salem, Indiana, and the society was soon neglected and ceased to exist as an organization.

The United States troops, who were stationed here from a period as early as 1790 to a date as late as 1816, were the means of bringing here many skillful and learned physicians and surgeons connected with the army. Among those thus brought here were Elias McNamee, Edward Skull, who killed Parmenas Becker, then sheriff of the county, in a duel, in October, 1813, John D. Woolverton, afterward receiver of public moneys here, Jacob Kuzken-

dall, and many others. In the year 1807, these resident physicians and surgeons of Vincennes organized a medical society. This was the first medical society ever formed in the Indiana Territory. It continued to exist and was maintained in full vigor until long after the admission of the state to the Union. But, like so many other worthy organizations that were formed here in territorial days, it gradually ceased to be.

In 1838, St. Gabriel College was organized here by the Eudists, a religious order of the Catholic Church. This college started on its career under very favorable auspices, and acquired a large and compact site in the center of Vincennes, composed of four of the squares of the town. It possessed a large and commodious brick building, suitable for educationable purposes, which had been constructed and used by the Vincennes University before the litigation with the state suspended its operations. The attendance of students was large from the start, not only from Indiana, but from many states in the South and West. All branches of education usually taught in first-class institutions were taught in this college, and the training was thorough and excellent, as is always the case with institutions of learning conducted by such men as were employed in this college. It was a very successful institution as long as it was maintained, but it was abandoned in the year 1845, owing to unfortunate differences that sprung up between the bishop of the diocese and the Endists who founded it.

CHAPTER IX.

PIONEER POETS AND STORY-WRITERS.

"For who shall stay
The first blind motions of the May?
Who shall out-blot the morning glow?
Or stem the full heart's overflow?
Who? There will rise, till Time decay,
More poets yet."

—*Austin Dobson.*

The American-English who took possession of the Ohio Valley, in the last years of the eighteenth century, were not the first to awaken the echoes of the western woods with melody. The red tribes were not only eloquent, as the rude oratory of Logan and Tecumseh testifies, but also poetical; they sang hymns of harvest, lays of love and war, death-songs, and religious incantations. The Indian names bequeathed to states, mountains, rivers, and lakes furnish a vocabulary rich in poetical qualities.

The semi-barbarous French runners of the wilderness, and rowers on *la belle rivière* and its tributaries, are known to have been of a musical turn, and to have cheered the solitude with amorous ditties, and timed their oars to singing.[1]

[1] Schoolcraft, in his "Travels," describes the *chanson de voyageur* as a "species of merry chant, which no one can listen to without feeling the mercury of his spirit rise." Isaac Weld, an Irish gentlemen, who traveled in America in 1795–6–7, says of the Canadian boatmen: "They have one very favorite duet amongst them, called the 'rowing duet,' which as they sing they mark time to with each stroke of the oar; indeed, when rowing in smooth water, they mark the time of most of the airs they sing in the same manner." Bradbury, an English traveler, writing in 1809, tells us the songs "were responsive betwixt the oarsmen at the bow and those at the stern;" and he quotes several stanzas of

The Saxon wagoner of the Alleghanies, driving his team to Pittsburg, roared rough songs to the mountains. The jolly crews that poled arks on the Ohio were especially addicted to vocal solo and chorus as well as to the "plink, plank, plunk" of the violin which lead the dance on deck. They sang many an ancient ballad, with interpolations befitting new scenery and events, and extemporized original lines to accompany the rythmic labor of the oar:

"Hard upon the beech oar!
She moves too slow!
All the way to Shawnee Town
Long while ago!"

The favorite river lyrics appear to have been madrigals of love or rousing peans in praise of Monongahela whisky. By and by the element of negro minstrelsy, coming from "Ole Virginia" and Kentucky, found a welcome on the river-craft, where it has ever since held place. Among the earliest original verses of the West were sundry African melodies celebrating the 'coon hunt and the vicissitudes of river navigation.

The song-book, patriotic, sentimental, and comic, is always in demand, even in the rudest society, and it was a species of literary manual not slow to migrate with the pioneer. Not until 1832 did the first publication in this line issue from a Cincinnati press. This was "The Eolian Songster," compiled and published by U. P. James, a man of taste, who had in view the elevation as well as the supply of the popular demand. "The Eolian Songster" contains, besides many of the choicest songs of Burns, Moore, and other modern poets, a careful selection of the older lyrics, including Jonson's "Drink to Me Only With

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one of the favorite songs, "to show their frivolity." Here is a sample stanza:

Derriere chêz-nous, il y ã un etang,
Ye, ye ment.
Trois canards s'en vont baignans,
Tous du lông de la rivière,
Legérément ma bergère,
Legérément, ye ment.

Thine Eyes." A local and native tone is given to the collection by its including several new pieces, as "The Kentucky Hunters" and "Perry's Victory."

Song-writing was an art much striven after by the American verse-makers of fifty or sixty years ago, attractive songs being then in much demand on the stage. The theater, indeed, was an active stimulator of literary effort in various departments, and one is struck, in reading the newspapers of the day, by frequent reference to original poetic addresses delivered on notable occasions by the authors from behind the footlights. Forty poetical addresses were presented to the manager of the New Orleans theater for a premium offered in January, 1824. The poets of the Ohio Valley contributed their full quota of popular songs to platform and parlor, and not a few of these still live wedded to familiar music. The pioneer balladists who sang the century into Kentucky and Ohio, were the harbingers of Louisville's unique troubadour, Will Shakespeare Hays, of whose songs, it is said, six million copies have sold in the United States and England.

An exhaustive history of the numerous poets and poetasters of the Ohio Valley, and of their offerings to literature in the name of the muses, would fill a large volume. Whoever examines the files of old western newspapers will be astonished at the immense quantity of verse, original and selected, to be found in the dingy columns. The poet's corner is sometimes multiplied by four, and becomes a rectangle. The "Western Spy" published poems under the heading, "Seat of the Muses," a caption afterward changed to the not less classic title, "The Parnassiad." The editor of the Cincinnati "Literary Gazette" (1824), in his notes to correspondents, declining offers of poetry from Prof. Rafinesque, of Transylvania University, Lexington, Kentucky, says, apologetically, "Poetry is in so flourishing a state on our side of the river that the limits allotted to that department are preoccupied." That the art was in an equally flourishing condition on Rafinesque's side of the river is abundantly proven by the testimony of Dr. Collins, who, in his his-

tory of Kentucky, devotes *sixty large pages* to selections from representative writers of verse, born or bred in that state.

The wilderness swarmed with migratory poets; they came in flocks like the birds; they chirruped from log-cabins, caroled from floating barges, chanted from new garrets in fresh-sprung villages. It has been discovered, in Louisville, that the restless John Filson set the dangerous example of verse-making at Beargrass as long ago as June, 1788. His only and therefore worst poem is in heroic rhymed couplets and bids

> "Adieu to every joy which time evades,
> Adieu to faithful swains and beauteous maids,
> Adieu Amanda whom my soul ensnares,
> Adieu till fate this mortal wound repairs,
> Adieu my peace, the busy world farewell,
> Adieu to all but plains of Asphodel."

Authorities all agree that the first person who appeared in the character of poet in the territory north-west of the Ohio, was Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., son of Colonel R. J. Meigs, of Revolutionary fame. Both father and son came to Marietta, with the original settlers, in April, 1788. The latter, a graduate of Yale College, studied law, rose rapidly from honor to honor, becoming supreme judge, United States senator, governor of Ohio, and postmaster general. Always fond of intellectual pursuits, he was a life-long patron of literary men and institutions.

Young Meigs, on July 4, 1789, delivered at Marietta an oration which closed with an "ornament of rhyme," descriptive of the Ohio Valley, and prophetic of its coming glory. From this artificial but certainly dignified and respectable "ode," stamped with the conventional mark of the eighteenth century, a few couplets are here given by way of sample:

> " Here swift Muskingum rolls his rapid waves;
> There fruitful valleys fair Ohio laves;
> On its smooth surface gentle zephyrs play,
> The sunbeams tremble with a placid ray.

What future harvests on his bosom glide,
And loads of commerce swell the 'downward tide,'
Where Mississippi joins in length'ning sweep,
And rolls majestic to the Atlantic deep."

American literature, in the year 1789, or in 1800, can hardly be said to have celebrated its Fourth of July. It was far from independent of the mother country. And yet, even in those early days, American books were having an influence in England, and English authors were ambitious to borrow the ears of an American audience. Lord Byron was not indifferent to the plaudits of readers in the backwoods of the New World. He wrote in his diary, December 5, 1813, "Dallas' nephew—son to the American Attorney General—is arrived in this country, and tells Dallas that my rhymes are very popular in the United States. These are the first tidings that have ever sounded like fame to my ears—to be redde on the banks of the Ohio."

The general literary influences that wrought upon the writers of New York and New England also inspired or constrained the Western muse, though in less degree. The world of letters turns eastward, but it does turn, and in succession every meridian receives the intellectual sunlight.

The loud music of Scott's "Marmion" and of Southey's "Thalaba" swelled across the sea before the nobler and sweeter strains of Wordsworth and Coleridge were appreciated.

The "Lake Poets" and their contemporaries, scourged or soothed in Byron's "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers," were known in the West when the immigrant poets began to thrum their imitative harps.

From the "Atlantick country" came the melody of Percival's "Clio," the most celebrated poetry that had yet been produced in America. "Percival is deservedly the first of American bards," wrote the editor of the Cincinnati "Literary Gazette," in 1824. The pioneer writers usually called a poet *bard*, and a village an *emporium*.

Pioneer poetry often went on stilts, and borrowed stilts at that. The style was either painfully labored and pedantic or ludicrously exclamatory and rhapsodical. The self-inspired geniuses felt it their duty to be extravagantly *natural* and "impassioned." Bards of classical ambition frequently sent "odes" to the backwoods newspapers, and sometimes furnished stanzas in Latin. They wrote under such pseudonyms as "Juvenis," "Favonius," "Puero," "Momus," and "Umbra." Others worked a vein severely didactic and moral. Much of the verse measured out on the Ohio side of the Ohio was, like the speech of Chaucer's clerk, "sounding in moral virtue."

The best of the early poets of the Ohio Valley wrote from a sincere impulse, and were loyal to their environments, drawing their themes from indigenous subjects—the woods, the streams, the ancient mounds, and whatever was most novel and picturesque in the immigrant journey over the mountains, or in the scenes and incidents of frontier life. They were moved to sing of the boatman poling his raft on the Beautiful river; the hunter roaming the dark forest, clad in deer-skin and carrying his rifle and powder-horn; the "Longknives" sallying from the threatened station to repel the stealthy, savage foe.

The homely verse dwelt on the close-knit ties of the settler's family in the hospitable log cabin, with its latch-string out. The love song adapted its amorous imagery to the wild scenery and primitive customs of the "clearing." Ever the Western pen was quick to indite patriotic strains. To the pioneer Liberty was a Tenth Muse.

As literature, few of the innumerable verses written by the backwoods rhymers deserve to be remembered. As history, many a rude stanza is more valuable than much that is found in the pages of the professed annalists. Writing had not become a vocation, or so much as an avocation. The poets, like the farmers, traders, mechanics, were busy with life and its urgent first necessities. They had just drawn themselves away from loved homes in the East, and were fastening the lines of hope to a new

mode of life in the West. The energy of body and mind was absorbed in the act of transplanting.

The general feeling is well expressed in Laura M. Thurston's lines, "On Crossing the Alleghanies," written near the beginning of the century:

"The broad, the bright, the glorious West
Is spread before me now!
Where the gray mists of morning rest
Beneath yon mountain's brow!
The bound is past—the goal is won—
The region of the setting sun
Is open to my view.
Land of the valiant and the free—
My own Green Mountain land—to thee,
And thine, a long adieu!

"I hail thee, Valley of the West,
For what thou yet shalt be!
I hail thee for the hopes that rest
Upon thy destiny!"

One of the first rhythmic compositions penned and printed concerning Kentucky is a poem called "The Mountain Muse," being a metrical account of Boone's adventures, founded on Filson's history. The "Mountain Muse" was written by D. Bryan, a Virginia senator, who published his poem at Harrisonburg, Va., in 1813.

The first "anthology" of Western poetry was collected by W. D. Gallagher, and published by U. P. James, Cincinnati, in 1841. The volume is called "Selections from the Poetical Literature of the West," and bears on the title page these appropriate lines from Southey:

"Here is a wreath,
With many an unripe blossom garlanded,
And many a weed, yet mingled with some flowers
That will not wither."

The one hundred and ten pieces contained in Mr. Gallagher's collection represent thirty-eight writers,[1] seven of them women.

[1] Wm. D. Gallagher, John M. Harney, John B. Dillon, George D.

The preface states that "much the greater number of the persons selected from are either western born or western educated, or both; and all of them who are now living, with a single exception, are citizens of this section of the Union." The exception was Ephraim Peabody. Commenting on the productions which make up his volume, the editor says: "For the most part, they have been the mere momentary outgushings of irrepressible feeling proceeding from the hearts of those who were daily and hourly subjected to the perplexities and toils of business, and the cares and anxieties inseparable from the procuring of one's daily bread by active occupation. As such let them be judged."

Three at least of the writers who figure in the "Selections", still live, Mrs. R. S. Nichols, Hon. C. D. Drake, and Mr. Gallagher himself. All but eight of the names were included in W. T. Coggeshall's "Poets and Poetry of the West," a royal octavo volume of 688 pages, published in 1860.

Coggeshall's work contains selections from one hundred and fifty-two writers, with biographical and critical notices. Ninety-seven men are represented and fifty-five women. By far the greater number of these resided in the Ohio Valley; sixty-nine were western born, thirty-nine belonging to Ohio, fifteen to Kentucky, and thirteen to Indiana. Twenty of these persons are known to be living now, April, 1891.

The poets, Prentice, Gallagher, Alice Cary and Amelia Welby, are the subjects of special chapters in this volume. Several other of the early singers of the Ohio Valley receive more or less extended notice in the chapter on "Pe-

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Prentice, Frederick W. Thomas, Nathaniel Wright, James Hall, Otway Curry, Thomas H. Shreve, James H. Perkins, Charles A. Jones, Charles D. Drake, George B. Wallis, Albert Pike, Micah P. Flint, Amelia B. Welby, Anne P. Dinnies, Laura M. Thurston, Sarah J. Howe, Ephraim Peabody, William Wallace, James Freeman Clarke, James W. Ward, James B. Marshall, Rebecca S. Nichols, Harvey D. Little, Lewis Ringe, Lewis J. Cist, Edwin R. Campbell, Lewis F. Thomas, Wm. B. Fairchild, Hugh Peters, Julia L. Dumont, Caroline Lee Hentz, G. G. Foster, Peyton S. Symmes, William Newton, James G. Drake.

riodical Literature," or are mentioned incidentally in the biographical sketches of Prentice, Gallagher, Hall, Mansfield and Flint. It is proposed, in this place, to present briefly the leading facts in the life and literary work of noteworthy poets not considered elsewhere in the volume.

Jonathan Meigs in Ohio, and Daniel Bryan in Virginia, are not singular examples of the politician turned poet. A glance through Coggeshall's big book of poets surprises the inquisitive reader with the names of several characters well known to history, but seldom associated in the general mind with the idea of poetry. Such are the names of Charles Hammond and Salmon P. Chase, men who endeavored to become poets before they succeeded in becoming statesmen. Not only did lawyers, legislators, and political journalists "drop into poetry," like Silas Wegg; the business men of pioneer times also strung strings of rhyme. The very first book of home-made verse printed in the West was a pamphlet of ninety-two pages, by a Cincinnati banker, Gorham A. Worth. The title is, "American Bards; A Modern Poem, in Three Parts." It came out in 1819, and had the honor to be republished in Philadelphia—an honor not justified by the merit of the book, the value of which consists wholly in the fact that it is a *first*, and that it is rare.

The "Muse of Hesperia," a prize poem, produced by another business man, Thomas Peirce, and read before the Philomathean Society of Cincinnati College, in 1822, advises the poets to defy all conventional rules of composition, and to scorn all the critics.

> "Nay, copy not the noblest lays
> Of ancient or of modern days.
> The genuine bard
> Dashes all rules of art aside,
> And, taking nature for his guide,
> Reaps, as he roams creation wide,
> A rich reward."

This anarchic literary counsel did not avail to develop

any sudden-expanding genius. Though the "genuine bard," roaming "creation wide," strove wildly to be natural and original and sublime, he found himself conditioned in the West as in the East by his "means, culture and limits," to use a compact phrase of Emerson's. Neither "going down East," nor "coming out West," makes the poet.

"The light that never was on sea or land," is not confined to special climates, nor geographical divisions, nor to the woods, nor to the city. Outer influences, scenery, society, may do something to stimulate or modify the mind's action; the spirit of the age does more; but, withal, poets are poets. They seek congenial surroundings as bees seek gardens; yet gardens do not cause bees.

Thomas Peirce, a verse-maker of considerable skill, originality and humor, born in Chester county, Pennsylvania, August 4, 1786, was, in early life, farmer, mechanic and teacher. He came to Cincinnati in 1813, and engaged in commercial affairs. But he also took interest in literary concerns, and was a prominent member of a society of which Lemuel D. Howells, Robert T. Lytle, William Henry Harrison, and Daniel Drake were members. Peirce was a contributor to the Western Spy and to the Literary Gazette, in which papers appeared what he called his "Odes," a series of mildly satirical pieces criticising persons and events. These were reprinted, in 1822, in a diminutive volume, with the title, "Horace in Cincinnati." Mr. Peirce died in 1850.

A poet of great promise and somewhat brilliant performance was John M. Harney[1] (1789–1825), whose literary work was done in Bardstown, Kentucky. He published, in 1816, a long poem, "Crystalina, a Fairy Tale," which

[1] John M. Harney should not be confounded with the poet, William Wallace Harney, born at Bloomington, Indiana, June 20, 1831, and known to admirers of western verse from his poems, "The Stab," "The Buried Hope," "The Old Mill," "The Suicide," "Jimmy's Wooing," "The Reapers," and other pieces of true artistic work. Harney's poetry has the "gleam" in it. Mr. Harney's present home is in Florida.

was extravagantly praised by R. W. Griswold in his "Poets of America," and by John Neal in the Portico. But the only bit of his work which long held its place in popular estimation is the trifle often copied into newspapers and books, called "Echo and the Lover."

Mrs. Julia L. Dumont was the first woman who achieved reputation as a writer in the Ohio Valley. A daughter of one of the original settlers of Marietta, she was born on the banks of the Muskingum in 1794, nearly a decade before Ohio was admitted to the Union. In 1812 she was married, and in 1814 removed with her husband to Vevay, Indiana, where for many years she was a distinguished teacher. She was the preceptress of Dr. Edward Eggleston, whose grateful pen has honored her by merited praise, Mrs. Dumont died in 1857.

Mrs. Dumont wrote much for the press, in prose and verse, and was greatly admired by her contemporaries. A volume of hers, entitled "Sketches, from Common Paths," was published by the Appletons in 1856. Her poems were never collected in book form. They reveal a pure and generous nature, saturated with philanthropy, patriotism, and womanly tenderness. Perhaps her best poem is one entitled "The Future Life."

John Finley was born in Virginia in 1797, and he died in Indiana in 1866. He may be described as the father of western humorous poetry. Besides him, only a very few of the early "bards" attempted the facetious. Among the few were Peirce, Harney, and Shreve. Finley came to Ohio in his young manhood; was married at Yellow Springs in 1826; went to Indiana, and became editor, state legislator, and finally mayor of the city of Richmond. Thus his occupations were of a practical sort, leaving scant time for the side-play of rhyme. The happy verses which have kept his name alive for ninety years were quite accidental and incidental, being part of a New Year's Address, written in 1830 for the Indianapolis Journal, a newspaper since distinguished for the encouragement it gives to western poets. The lines referred to are those entitled "The Hoosier's Nest," a bit of realistic de-

scription, picturing very vividly the interior of an Indiana log-cabin, and the rude hospitality of a backwoods family entertaining a stranger. Finley was a born humorist, and nearly every thing he wrote is piquant and amusing. His lines "To My Old Coat," "A Wife Wanted," and the graphic piece in Irish dialect, "Bachelor's Hall," still hold their place as general favorites. The last-named went the rounds of newspaperdom credited to Tom Moore.

More than half a century ago, the name of Otway Curry was familiar to readers of verse throughout the United States, and the new-risen western star of poetry was considered a remarkable phenomenon, even worthy to be ranked with Poe. The merit of his work is striking, and there is reason to regret that the collection of his poetry promised by a prospectus, some years ago, has not been published. Curry possessed subtile genius, and though his thought is not always clear nor his art satisfactory, almost every thing he wrote is pleasing, melodious, and warm, if not luminous with sincere "inspiration." Such poems as "Kingdom Come," "The Armies of the Eve," "The Better Land," "The Lost Pleiad," "Chasadine," "Aaven," "To a Midnight Phantom," belong, in their conception and form, to the aristocracy of letters. There is something in their very titles suggestive of habitual meditation on high themes, and of a life devoted to the solitude of the ideal world.

Otway Curry was born in Highland county, Ohio, in 1804, and he died in 1855. He was farmer, lawyer, editor, legislator, as well as poet, and his general services in the cause of intellectual and moral progress in the West should not be forgotten. He was a bosom friend of W. D. Gallagher, and the latter relates that when the two were youths together in the town of Cincinnati, they used, on summer evenings, to sit on the bank of the Ohio, near the foot of Broadway, Curry playing the flute for his friend's pleasure. The high esteem and affection in which Otway Curry was held are manifested in a generous tribute from the pen of a contemporary, who, in 1855, wrote of the deceased poet:

"Ohio ne'er has lost a son
More worthy her regret
The West has comets yet of song,—
Her planet, though, has set.
Our country weakens with the want
Of good, true men like him,
To guard her tree of liberty,
Like Eden's cherubim."

Harvey D. Little (born 1803, died 1833), who spent the chief part of his short career in Central Ohio, a printer and editor, was endowed with two excellent qualities of the real poet, a vivid imagination, and the sense of rhythm, as his fine, spontaneous lyrics, "Palmyra," and "On Judah's Hills," sufficiently prove.

Very energetic and taking in their way are the dashing melodies of Captain George Washington Cutter, a native of Kentucky, who served in the Mexican War as captain of the Kenton Rangers, became a lawyer and legislator in Indiana, and afterward lived in Cincinnati and Washington City. He married Mrs. Alexander Drake, the celebrated western actress. Three volumes of Cutter's verse were printed, "Buena Vista and Other Poems," in 1848, and two others in 1857. Several of Cutter's eloquent and fervid patriotic pieces made a strong impression, and passages from them are still quoted and sung. "E Pluribus Unum," beginning with the lines,

"Though many and bright are the stars that appear,
In that flag, by our country unfurled,"

is a stirring anthem not likely soon to perish from memory. But the acknowledged masterpiece of this tumultuous singer is the "Song of Steam,"[1] a metrical shout and

[1] It is stated on the authority of Mr. Alexander Williamson, of Covington, Kentucky, that the "Song of Steam" was written in Covington, before its author went to Mexico, and that it was suggested by the powerful operation and noise of steam-propelled machinery. Mr. Williamson says: "One morning he (Cutter) was down in the neighborhood of what was then called 'Factory Row,' where John T. Lewis had his cotton factory; and he looked at the immense wheels and cogs and shafts and pulleys, and listened to the noise and the whirr and the rumble of

exultation, befitting the advent of an age of material forces. The "Song of Lightning" is its companion lyric.

Another Kentucky poet, of very different style from that of Cutter—Fortunatus Cosby—was born on Harrod's creek, in May, 1802, and died at Louisville sometime in the fifties. His monument may be seen in Cave Hill Cemetery, not far from those of Prentice and Amelia Welby. He was a college-bred gentleman of quiet tastes and careful culture—one of the group of scholarly writers whom Prentice drew around him. His "Fireside Fancies"

"By the dim and fitful firelight,"

will be read and remembered by many a reader in years to come.

William Ross Wallace, also a Kentuckian, born in 1819, was educated in Indiana, and, removing to New York City, became a successful professional writer for newspapers. His poetical talents were recognized and flattered by Bryant and Poe, who prophesied wonderful successes for his muse. But the star of his fame has already set, though one can understand, when reading his vigorous and well-wrought verses, why his contemporaries praised him, and we wonder, as in many other similar cases, why compositions so much above mediocrity should be forgotten so soon.

Mrs. Frances Dana Gage, familiarly known by her pseudonym of "Aunt Fanny," a "womanly woman," highly appreciated by the common people, was, in the day of her literary activity, perhaps the most popular writer of keen practical prose, and homely didactic verse, in the western country. She became identified with the cause of "woman's rights," and other reforms, and was a graceful and effective public lecturer. Her fluent, lucid lyrics of home and heart, "The Sounds of Industry," "The

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the machinery. And from there he wandered off to the McNickle rolling-mill, where they had an enormous trip-hammer, and the power of steam so impressed him that he went home and wrote the poem; and a magnificent thing it is."

Housekeeper's Soliloquy, "My Fiftieth Birthday," "Life's Lessons," and the delightful "Home Picture," which last tells about "Ben Fisher" and his "good wife Kate," and the children, and the farm, and the poultry, were clipped from newspapers and pasted in the scrap-books of countless housekeepers who found in these simple rhymes a photograph of their own domestic experience. Mrs. Gage was the daughter of a pioneer, Joseph Barker, one of the founders of Ohio, who came to Marietta with Putnam in 1788. She was born in 1808; married James L. Gage in 1828; lived at McConnellsville, Ohio, for twenty-five years, and removed to St. Louis, Missouri, in 1853. A volume of her poems was brought out by a Philadelphia publisher in 1867.

I venture to class with the pioneer poets of the Ohio Valley two honored women, both now residing in Indianapolis, both active members of the Western Association of Writers—Mrs. Sarah T. Bolton and Mrs. Rebecca S. Nichols.

Mrs. Bolton, whose father, a Barritt, and mother, a Pendleton, were of Virginia origin, was born in Newport, Kentucky, in December, 1814. The family moved to Jennings county, Indiana, thence to Madison, where Sarah, in 1831, was married to Nathaniel Bolton. The Boltons made their home in Indianapolis. From 1855 to 1858 Mr. Bolton was United States consul to Geneva, Switzerland, and his wife accompanied him to Europe. Mrs. Bolton's first poem appeared in the Madison "Banner." She wrote for the Columbian and Great West, the Ladies' Repository, the Cincinnati Commercial, and the New York Home Journal. Her poems, like those of Mrs. Gage, appeal directly to the common sentiment and emotion of the people, and inculcate the highest public and private virtue. Among her lyrics are "Hope on, Hope Ever," "Call the Roll," and "Paddle Your Own Canoe," melodious sermons the lesson of which has quickened the worthy ambition of half the school-boys and girls in the Ohio Valley.

Mrs. Rebecca S. Nichols was born at Greenwich, New

Jersey, August, 1820. Her maiden name was Reed. She removed, with her parents, to Louisville, where, in 1838, she was married to Willard P. Nichols. She has resided in St. Louis, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, and Indianapolis. She published her first poems in the Louisville News Letter and the Louisville Journal. She became a contributor to the Cincinnati Commercial, the Cincinnati Herald, the Knickerbocker, and Graham's Magazine. In St. Louis she helped edit a daily paper called the Pennant, and in Cincinnati she conducted a literary periodical named The Guest. Her pieces have appeared under the pseudonyms "Ellen" and "Kate Cleveland." Mrs. Nichols enjoyed the friendship and encouragement of Otway Curry, W. D. Gallagher, George D. Prentice, and the generous patronage of Nicholas Longworth, who brought out her poems in a sumptuous volume in 1851. Her first publication in book form was named "Bernice, or the Curse of Mina, and Other Poems," 1844; the second, "Songs of the Heart and the Hearth-Stone." No truer estimate of Mrs. Nichols can be stated in brief than that expressed in Coggeshall's "Poets," by her biographer, Sullivan D. Harris, who says: "The strongest and brightest phase of her character is that of a Christian mother, and the wail of bereaved maternity is the most touching utterance of her pen."

There lives in Cleveland, Ohio, a poet and general writer, born in the first year of the century, June 11, 1800, in Conway, Massachusetts. After graduating at Williams College, he removed to Ohio, and became a lawyer and state legislator. His efficacious labors in the promotion of educational and philanthropic institutions place him among the foremost benefactors of the people. This noble patriarch, Hon. Harvey Rice, LL.D., a true apostle of "sweetness and light," is the author of "Letters from the Pacific Slope," "Incidents of Pioneer Life in the Early Settlement of the Connecticut Western Reserve," and a volume of essays entitled "Nature and Culture." In his early manhood, Mr. Rice contributed many poems to the periodicals, and, in 1859, a collection of these was pub-

lished in a volume called "Mount Vernon, and Other Poems." This passed through several editions, and is still in demand. A second volume, "Select Poems," was issued in 1878. Perhaps the best known poem of Mr. Rice is the lyric, "Unwritten Music," which has a good deal of written music. But the piece entitled "The Moral Hero" gives the key-note of the author's character, and the injunction in its closing lines was never more fully obeyed than by him who penned them:

> "Where duty calls, engage;
> And ever striving, be
> The moral hero of the age."

In a letter written by Mr. Rice in the ninety-first year of his age, he says: "I am somewhat advanced in years, it is true, but still keep at work in my way, and mean to continue work until I fall in the harness."

This summary may close with a short account of three poets, who, though they came into the world somewhat later than most of those just mentioned, and who, though they died young, lived long enough to win enduring laurels. Theodore O'Hara, William H. Lytle, and Forceythe Willson may be classed together as choice souls born possessed of the "vision and the faculty divine," and as patriotic spirits who each, without conscious effort, gained the world's recognition by composing lyrics of war. O'Hara and Lytle were, like Captain Cutter, officers in the Mexican War, engaging in those picturesque and romantic campaigns, the national glory of which was eclipsed by the brilliancy and gallantry of personal deeds. Battles such as that of Buena Vista, and marches like that to Mexico City, furnish inspiring themes for song.

Theodore O'Hara was born in Danville, Kentucky, February 11, 1820. He served through the war with Mexico, and came out of it a brevet major. He practiced law, edited newspapers, and led a somewhat wandering life until the civil war, when he again became a soldier, on the Confederate side, and served to the end of the conflict. He died of fever, June 7, 1867. In the words of his bi-

ographer, Robert Burns Wilson,[1] O'Hara "builded for himself an enduring fame as a poet upon four lines." These four lines occur in the poem entitled "The Bivouac of the Dead," written to commemorate the Kentucky soldiers who fell in the Mexican War, and to whom a monument is erected in the cemetery at Frankfort. Few are the readers who need to be told that the verses referred to are:

> "On fame's eternal camping-ground
> Their silent tents are spread,
> But glory guards, with solemn round,
> The bivouac of the dead."

William Haines Lytle was born in Cincinnati, November 2, 1826. He served in the Mexican war as captain; became a member of the Ohio legislature; ran for lieutenant-governor in 1857; was major-general of the Ohio militia; commanded the Fourth Ohio Regiment in General O. M. Mitchel's brigade in the civil war; was killed in the battle of Chickamauga, September 20, 1863. Illustrious in arms, this well-loved Ohio hero is also admired in the field of letters. His best poem, "Anthony and Cleopatra,"[2] seems to be booked for immortality. Periodically, it goes the rounds of the newspaper press as an "old favorite," having about it that indescribable quality

[1] See Century Magazine for May, 1890.

[2] "Anthony and Cleopatra" was written at the Lytle Homestead, Lawrence street, Cincinnati, in July, 1858. The author dashed it off in a glow of poetic excitement, and left the manuscript lying upon the writing-table, in his private room, where it was found by his friend, Wm. W. Fosdick, the poet. "Who wrote that, Lytle?" inquired Fosdick. "Why, I did," answered Lytle, "How do you like it?" Fosdick expressed admiration for the poem, and, taking the liberty of a literary comrade, he carried the manuscript away, and sent it to the editor of the Cincinnati Commercial, with the following note: "EDS. COM.:—The following lines from our gifted and gallant townsman, General Wm. H. Lytle, we think, constitute one of the most masterly lyrics which has ever adorned American poetry; and we predict a popularity and perpetuity for it unsurpassed by any Western production.—W. W. F." The poem appeared in the "Commercial," on July 29, 1858. These facts are verified by the poet's sister, Mrs. Josephine R. Foster, who possesses a copy of "Anthony and Cleopatra" in the handwriting of its author.

of sustained excellence which marks it as permanently acceptable to the muse. Both the imagination and the ear of the critic must grant that there is melody, *verve*, dramatic vividness, and bold imagery in every stanza of the six which make up this fine lyric which reaches its climax in the words:

"And for thee, star-eyed Egyptian!
Glorious sorceress of the Nile,
Light the path of Stygean horrors
With the splendor of thy smile;
Give the Cæsar crowns and arches,
Let his brow the laurel twine,
I can scorn the Senate's triumphs,
Triumphing in love like thine."

Byron Forceythe Willson was born in New York, April 10, 1837; came west with his father's family in 1846; lived in Maysville and Covington, Kentucky, for seven years, and in New Albany, Indiana, from 1852 to 1863; removed to Cambridge, Massachusetts, in the autumn of 1863, and remained there for three years; died in Alfred, New York, February 2, 1867. He spent a year at Antioch College, Ohio, while Horace Mann was president, and then went to Harvard, but, having symptoms of consumption, he left college in his Sophomore year. Willson was an occasional contributor to the "Atlantic Monthly," and an interesting sketch of his life and writings, by his friend, John James Piatt, was published in that magazine in 1867.

Willson's reputation was achieved by the publication, in the Louisville Journal, of January 1, 1863, of the striking and pathetic narrative poem, "The Old Sergeant," which, while realistic in the extreme, relating facts just as they occurred and giving actual names of persons and places, is yet so idealized and subjective that its hero becomes a vivid type of the brave soldier-martyr of every country, and its patriotism breathes a universal air.

"The Old Sergeant" was made popular by public readers and reciters who, in the war time and after, delivered it through the length and breath of the northern

states. A small volume entitled "The Old Sergeant and Other Poems" was published by Tichnor & Fields, in 1867, the year of the author's death, and the book is his monument. The lover of poetry who, from purpose or chance, takes time to peruse Willson's poems, finds on every page tokens of delicate genius and promise of rare fruit in the flower that death cut off untimely.

WRITERS OF FICTION.

With the bards came the romancers. The most delightful portion of the early literature of the West is semi-historical, semi-fictitious. Journals of exploration in unknown regions are usually marvelous. Imaginative travelers, designing to print a book, do not neglect to grace their pages with interesting rumors of facts they can not investigate. The story-tellers proper, never wearied in describing the perils and privations of border life—tales founded on fact. Volumes were written

> "Of Boone and Kenton and the pioneers
> Of Pontiac and Ellenipsico,
> Of Logan, the heart-broken chief, of bold
> Tecumseh and the Prophet."

Among the desperate heroes depicted in border story are Girty, the renegade, and Big Harpe, the robber, who was stabbed to death at the foot of the Lonesome Post Oak, near Hopkinsville, Kentucky.

The many-named Ohio, flowing through wilderness and mystery from Fort Pitt to the far Mississippi, was to the settlers the very river of romance. The history of navigation on this great stream, from the day of pirogues to the day of steamboats, is a tissue of that truth which is stranger than fiction. Mike Fink, the "Last of the Boatmen," and Colonel "Plug," the river boat wrecker, were types of a character and class that seem as far away as Robin Hood. Mike Shuck, the Missouri trapper, was another worthy of a different sort. These and other unique figures furnished material for western tale-tellers before such writers as Emerson Bennett and "Ned Bunt-

line" came to the Ohio Valley. Benjamin Drake, Morgan Neville, Mrs. Julia Dumont, Mrs. Lee Hentz, Wm. D. Gallagher, Otway Curry, and many others produced stories of considerable interest. Judge James Hall's fictitious writings have a permanent value as correct historical pictures of Indian life and of the customs in the old French settlements of Southern Illinois. Timothy Flint, who was an author by profession, and a good one, wrote several novels that are racy and readable to this day. The best of these undoubtedly is "Francis Berrian; or The Mexican Patriot," published at Boston, by Cummings, Hilliard & Co., in 1826.

The writers and books that we are now to consider are such as seem most worthy of mention in their class, and are not treated of in other chapters of this volume.

The first novel produced in the West was the political satire, "Modern Chivalry, or the Adventures of Captain Farrago and Teague O'Regan, his Servant," by Judge H. H. Brackenridge, of Pittsburg.[1] The first part of this now rare book was issued from the office of the Pittsburg Gazette, in 1793. Duyckink's Cyclopœdia gives long extracts from the story, and says: "In the West, Modern Chivalry is, or deserves to be, regarded as a kind of aboriginal classic." Not many readers, in these days, will have patience to follow the satirical captain and his blundering Irish servant through their round of rough adventures and critical conversations. The scene of the story is Pennsylvania, the period that of the Whisky Rebellion, and the author gives graphic descriptions of some scenes which he had himself observed in the turbulent times just after the revolution. The humors of the popular election, the absurdity of the duel, the savage fun of tar-and-feather justice, false learning and affected man-

[1] Hugh Henry Brackenridge was born in Scotland in 1748; came to America in 1753; graduated at Princeton, 1771; went to Philadelphia in 1776, and became editor of the United States Magazine; removed to Pittsburg in 1781, and was made supreme judge; died in 1816. He was author of several books.

ners, are well shown up in this century-old piece of Scotch wit and wisdom.

Sir Walter Scott was on the throne of fiction when ambitious authorship began to sharpen the goose-quill pen west of the Alleghenies. Brackenridge, an imitator of his great countryman, was one of the very earliest writers of fiction in America. The smoke of the war of 1812 had lifted before Cooper and Irving were recognized as literary stars. The "Sketch Book" did not appear until 1819—the "Spy" until 1821.

Those who, in the Ohio Valley, attempted story-writing within the first half of the century, usually published their efforts in the literary periodicals and family newspapers. Occasionally they put forth a book. The Cincinnati Literary Gazette, in 1824, printed several short sketches or stories written by Benjamin Drake, under the general caption of "Leaves from the Port Folio of a Young Backwoodsman." The Western Souvenir, the first "annual" of the West, a dainty volume of 324 pages, bound in satin, was issued in Cincinnati in 1829. It contains a number of readable stories, of which may be named "Oolemba in Cincinnati," by Timothy Flint; "A Tale of the Greek Revolution," by Lewis R. Noble; "The French Village," "The Bachelor's Elysium," "The Forest Chief," "The Billiard Table," "The Indian Hater," "The Massacre," "Pete Featherton," by James Hall; "The Descendants of Pangus," by S. S. Boyd; and, best of all, "The Last of the Boatmen," by Morgan Neville. Several of these stories have a genuine local flavor—if not strictly indigenous products, they were at least cultivated in western soil. "The Last of the Boatmen" is a study from life. "Pete Featherton" is a charming Kentucky legend, illustrating the superstition that a gun is subject to evil spirits and may be bewitched with the devil's aid.

The Cincinnati Mirror, 1831–6, was the repository of many original tales. Mrs. Dumont wrote for it "The Brothers," "Gertrude Beverly," and "Ashton Grey," the last a fifty-dollar prize story. Thomas H. Shreve contributed the novelettes, "Ellen Landon," "The Old and the

Young Bachelor," "The Ambitious Man," "Coquetry," and "Haarlem House." In the Mirror appeared "Hospitality, a Western Tale," by Mrs. Anna Dinnies; "Origin of the White Indians," by Mrs. H. S. Haynes; "Mahweeta, an Indian Story," by I. N. McJilton; and "Charles Morsell, or the Elopement," by J. A. McClung, author of the novel "Camden," and "Western Sketches." Two stories, "The Broken-Hearted," and "The Bereaved Sister," by George D. Prentice, were reprinted in the Mirror, though not produced in the West. The editor of the paper, W. D. Gallagher, used its columns to utter "Cause and Effect," a story of forgery, and "The Heiress of Rock Hollow," an amusing study of Dutch life, after the manner of Irving. Gallagher wrote other works of imagination, his most ambitious novel being "The Dutchman's Daughter," which ran through half a dozen numbers of the Hesperian, in 1840.

"The Doomed Wyandot," and "The Wolf Hunter," sketches based upon fact, were contributed by Otway Curry to the Hesperian. In the same magazine appeared a novel entitled "The Coquette," by Miss E. N. Dupuy, author of "The Conspirators," of which last 24,000 copies were sold. Miss Dupuy also wrote "Emma Walton," "Celeste," "Florence, or the Fatal Vow," and other popular tales. She lived in Augusta, Ky.

Hall's Western Monthly Magazine, 1833–7, made itself the literary organ of its period, especially in poetry and fiction. The editor published several of his own stories in it, and gave prominence to sketches and tales by Mrs. Caroline Lee Hentz, and Miss Harriet Beecher.[1] Rev. James H. Perkins, the author of "Western Annals," who was not only an accurate historian and good poet, but a graceful story-teller, contributed to Hall's Magazine and The Western Messenger a number of vigorous tales, a few of which may be found in W. H. Channing's "Memoir and Writings of James H. Perkins." Among the titles

[1] See Chapter XII.

are "Dora McCrae," "The Hypochondriac," "The Judge's Hunt," "The Murderer's Daughter," "The Lost Child," and "The Hole in My Pocket," the last a decided "hit," and not unlike in style to the prudential writings of Poor Richard.

Highly esteemed by the readers and critics of fifty years ago, were the novels of Frederick W. Thomas, son of E. S. Thomas, author of "Reminiscences of the Last Sixty-five Years." F. W. Thomas was born in South Carolina in 1811. With his father's family he came to Cincinnati in 1829. His brother Lewis and his sister Martha are recognized as talented writers. A younger brother, Calvin W. Thomas, a prominent citizen of Cincinnati, also has a literary turn, and takes much interest in matters of general culture. The novels of F. W. Thomas are among the first, hailing from the West, that were given originally to the public in book form. "Clinton Bradshaw," the adventures of a lawyer, at the bar and in politics, was published in 1835, at Philadelphia, and republished, in 1848, at Cincinnati. In 1836 appeared "East and West," a lively story, introducing scenery and incidents, vividly colored, from real life. "Howard Pinckney," also a delineation of society as it was, came out in 1837. Mr. Thomas deserves mention, also, for the reputation he achieved as orator and poet. His descriptive and narrative poem, "The Emigrant, or Reflections when Descending the Ohio," dedicated to Charles Hammond, and published in pamphlet form in 1833, was popular, and is still quoted. More admired was the versatile author's love-lyric, "'Tis Said that Absence Conquers Love," a song familiar to the beaux and belles of a generation not yet all gone.

Benjamin Drake's "Tales and Sketches of the Queen City," a volume long out of print, was published in 1839. The student of pioneer life will find much to entertain him in the thirteen sketches that make up the contents of this simple volume, namely, "The Queen City," "The Novice of Cahokia," "Putting a Black-leg on Shore," "The Baptism," "The Yankee Colporteur," "The Grave

of Rosalie," "The Burial by Moonlight," "A Kentucky Election," "A Visit to the Blue Licks," "Trying on a Shoe," "The Battle of Brindle and the Buckeyes," "The Buried Canoe," and "The Flag Bearer."

The decade beginning about the year 1845 was prolific of light and sensational fiction, the general demand for which, in the West, was largely supplied by ephemeral magazines and semi-literary weekly newspapers. The Louisville Journal, the Cincinnati Commercial, and Great West, afterward Columbian and Great West, devoted hundreds of columns to exciting tales and romances—serials continued from week to week for months. This was the golden, or at least the gilded, age of what came to be called "Yaller Kivers," the seed-time and the early harvest day of the "Blood and Thunder" novelists, chief among whom were Emerson Bennett and E. C. Z. Judson. Both these, though eastern men, made western experience a stirring episode in their lives. The phase of intellectual development which they represent is curious, and their literary adventures in the Ohio Valley are not without interest.

Emerson Bennett was born on a farm in Massachusetts, March 16, 1822. At the age of seventeen he ran away from his country home, and led a wandering life, "seeing the world" and seeking adventures. In 1840 he settled in New York city, where he tried his genius by various attempts in art and poetry. He published a versified story called "The Brigand," which was ridiculed by reviewers. In the winter of 1843 he went to Philadelphia, and became a contributor to the Dollar Newspaper. That paper having offered a prize for the best story forwarded to the editor within a given time, Bennett entered the competitive field, and produced his first novelette, a romance named "The Unknown Countess," which did not win the premium.

While in Philadelphia, the young romancer fell in love. A quarrel with his sweetheart caused Bennett to leave the Quaker City. He journeyed to Baltimore, and thence to Pittsburg and on down the Ohio, arriving at Cincinnati in

the spring of 1844. For temporary subsistence, he resorted to selling a patent stamp for marking linen. His mode of life was Bohemian; he slept in the cheapest lodgings, and did not disdain the luxury of free luncheon and a glass of beer. One day, in his wanderings, he chanced upon the office of the Western Literary Journal, a magazine edited by E. C. Z. Judson. Bennett offered for publication what he describes as a "hastily written sketch, literally written for bread," but it was rejected. The management, however, favored him with an agency to take subscribers for the Journal. L. A. Hine was at that time connected with the journal, and he took a very warm interest in young Bennett, who frankly told to this new friend the story of his fortunes and misfortunes.

Bennett made a tour through Ohio, soliciting subscribers for the Literary Journal, and returned to the city after a lapse of several months. While sitting in a restaurant one day, he heard a stranger mention the title of his story, "The Unknown Countess," contributed to the Dollar Newspaper in Philadelphia. The tale, printed after long delay, had been copied into the Cincinnati Commercial, then edited by L. G. Curtiss. Elated at the discovery of these facts, Bennett sought Mr. Hine, who immediately went with him to the Commercial office and introduced him to Curtiss. An interview led to an offer by the newspaper to pay Bennett a small sum for an original western story. The offer was gladly accepted, and the composition of a "thrilling" romance was at once begun. Some of the chapters were written in the Commercial office, in hot haste, to meet the importunate demand for "copy." In 1846, Bennett wrote for the Commercial a novel called "The League of the Miami," and a year or two after he wrote the "Bandits of the Osage." The latter was published in book form by Robinson & Jones, and five thousand copies were sold. This success was followed by other ventures and successes. Several of Bennett's novels were published by U. P. James. Among these were "Prairie Flower" and "Leni Leoti," each of which had a circulation of about a hundred thousand copies! I was

told recently, in Lancaster, Ohio, that Bennett's "Forest Rose," the scene of which centers in a cave near that city, is issued, in occasional small editions, from a newspaper office, to supply the local demand.

In 1846, in partnership with one J. H. Green, otherwise identified as "the reformed gambler," Bennett conducted, for nine months, a small literary paper, the Casket, published at Lawrenceburg, Indiana. To this paper the Cary sisters contributed, as did also Coates Kinney, under a pseudonym.

Bennett wrote stories and poems for Hine's Journal and Review, and for the Herald of Truth. He became one of the editors of the Columbian and Great West. He returned to the East in 1850. At present he resides in Philadelphia, and is busily engaged in producing characteristic stories, scores of which have appeared in print. In a letter dated August 9, 1881, he writes: "Of course I am hurried with literary work—have always been hurried, ever since I entered this field of labor between thirty-five and forty years ago." Criticism can not assign to Bennett a very high rank in authorship, yet let it be admitted, in justice to him, that he has shown a surprising power of interesting the "lower million," and that without abandoning pure moral standards. There are grave and respectable ladies and gentlemen, not of the "lower million," who, if put to the confessional, must own that there was a time when, lured by the "Prairie Flower," or "The Forest Rose," or "Kate Clarendon," or the "Artist's Bride," or the "Outlaw's Daughter," they followed the complicated plot, sympathizing in the romantic adventures of brave young heroes, lovely orphan heiresses, impossible Indians, mixed up with love and prairie-fire, and the sharp crack of a rifle, with robbers and panthers, in woods and caverns, by land and water, in city or solitude, to the breathless end of the last chapter, in which the villain is slain, and the lost bride is restored to her happy lover.

The sojourn of Judson, "Ned Buntline," in the West, was not so protracted as that of Bennett, but it occurred

in the same period. Edward Z. C. Judson was born in New York in 1823. He ran away from home at the age of twelve, and joined the navy. He fought seven duels with midshipmen, thus persuading them to admit him to a social equality with them. Such a bloody beginning corresponds well with the later exploits of the man, who, a colonel in the civil war, had the honor of receiving twenty wounds! The young seaman's naval experience perhaps furnished the basis for his first story, "The Captain's Pig," which the Knickerbocker Magazine accepted and published, in 1838. This and other contributions to the same periodical gave Judson a start in literature. Sometime in 1844, he came to Cincinnati, and in November of that year joined Lucius A. Hine and Hudson A. Kidd in establishing the Western Literary Journal and Monthly Review. The first two numbers were issued from Cincinnati; the third and subsequent numbers were published at Nashville, and the word South-western was substituted for Western in the title. It was about this time that Judson began the publication, at Paducah, Kentucky, of the celebrated story-paper called "Ned Buntline's Own." While in Nashville he was involved in a social scandal, ending in his killing a man who, in a jealous rage, had shot at him. Judson seems to have been mobbed, and, jumping from the second-story window of a hotel, was much bruised, and was hastened to a steamer, which carried him to Pittsburg, where his family resided.

The following letter from Colonel Judson gives some interesting personal facts:

"HEADQUARTERS "NED BUNTLINE,"
"EAGLE'S NEST, STAMFORD, N. Y., *April* 10, 1885.

"DEAR SIR:—Your very kind note of information and inquiry received. After resigning from the U. S. Navy, encouraged by successful contribution to the Knickerbocker Magazine in New York, I turned to literature as a means of support. In 1844 and '45, I spent a portion of my time in Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee, and for a year

or more edited the magazine you speak of. It was not a financial success, though it had some excellent contributors—W. D. Gallagher, Cist, I think, and Albert Pike. My associations with Gallagher, Amelia B. Welby, Geo. D. Prentice, and Tom Shreve are among the most delightful of my memories.

"I have little to write about myself. I detest autobiography. If a man has lived to merit it, his life will live after him, and be written by those who appreciated him. The early struggles of a literary man are only interesting to himself, and success only wipes away their bitter memories.

"In my own case I found that to *make a living* I must write "trash" for the masses, for he who endeavors to write for the critical few, and do his genius justice, will go hungry if he has no other means of support. Is it not so?

"Yours ever truly,

"E. Z. C. JUDSON."

Another letter from Judson, dated May 4, 1885, says: "Emerson Bennett wrote his first sketch for me, and, with many corrections, it was put in print. Hudson A. Kidd was a nephew of General Zollicoffer, of Nashville, Tennessee, with more ambition than talent. I have an idea "The Mysteries and Miseries of New York" was my most successful book. In four editions 100,000 copies were sold, and it had to be stereotyped here; was republished in England, France, and Denmark. Authorship has given me a comfortable living and a good home for my old age."

According to Appleton's Cyclopedia of Biography, Judson's income was said to be $120,000 a year.

Judson died in the summer of 1886, and of many obituary notices of him, none is more appreciative than that which appeared in the Chicago Current, sentences from which I quote:

"So 'Ned Buntline' is dead! Lives there a boy with soul so dead—or lives there any man who was once a boy

with soul so dead—that this announcement will not afflict him? These wonderful stringers-of-it-out—when they die, do we not owe them a death-notice like unto that which we give to the great dead? Reader, has not your heart beaten fast to the imaginings of this wonderful writer, whose heart now throbs no more? Can we not all look back into the early years of life, when the lad sat bent over the dining-table, Ned Buntline in hand, pushing the book under the evening lamp, eyes starting from sockets, and ears hearing the sounds of the tavern-keeper and his son, while those worthies were digging the grave in the garden where the guest (whom they thought asleep upstairs within doors) was to be buried? How hard it was for that lad to breathe while the tavern-keeper stealthily approached the bed and killed his own kinsman in mistake for the wayfarer! Truly, it was a night of horror! We all shall never forget it!"

The sensational novel, "New York: Its Upper Ten and Lower Million," by George Lippard, though not written in the West, was published in Cincinnati about the year 1854.

William W. Fosdick's romantic story, "Malmiztic, the Toltec, and the Cavaliers of the Cross," the fruit of the author's travels in Mexico, was published in 1851. Though criticized justly for cumbersome eloquence of style and excessive ornamentation, the novel is conceded to have great merit as a work of imagination, and much truth in its historical and descriptive passages. It was a worthy forerunner of Wallace's "Fair God." Fosdick's performance was extravagantly praised in some quarters and unmercifully ridiculed in other. The genial poet's familiar friends and boon companions would sometimes rally him with the exclamation, "Malmiztic, the Toltec, by Fostec, the Aztec." Notwithstanding its defects, the book was written in the spirit of true art, and was an experiment in the upward direction.

The several stories and novels written by Alice Cary, "Clovernook," 1851; "Hagar, a Story of To-day," 1852;

"Clovernook Children," 1854; "Married, not Mated," 1856; and "The Bishop's Son," 1867, are drawn with a skill so clever that they attracted praise from the most cultivated readers of America and England.

Mrs. Catherine Warfield's "The Household of Bouverie," published in 1860, a romance of remarkable power, showed the reading world that Kentucky had a novelist whose talents were of a noble order, and near akin to genius.

Mention is made, on a preceding page, of Mrs. Stowe's literary work in Cincinnati. Coming to Walnut Hills before her marriage, Harriet Beecher exercised her awakening genius by writing sketches and stories for Western magazines. She was an active member of the "Semi-Colon Club," of the Queen City, and dedicated her first volume, "The Mayflower," to that society. A residence of eighteen years in Cincinnati, when the slavery excitement was at white heat, gave her much of the material out of which was afterward shaped her masterwork. She visited Kentucky in 1833, and, as her autobiography distinctly says, she witnessed there, and in her own house, scenes and incidents that were embodied in the story of "Uncle Tom." That famous novel, which Mrs. Cone happily characterizes as a "shot heard round the world," was published, in book form, in 1852, after its appearance as a serial in Dr. Gamaliel Bailey's *National Era*, of Washington, D. C. Though no part of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was actually written in the Ohio Valley, the novel is, in a true sense, a Western product.

NOTE.

In addition to the foregoing, I have met with many other works of fiction produced in the Ohio Valley before the year 1860. The following titles may be interesting:

"Carrero; or, The Prime Minister." 1842. Edmund Flagg.

"Francis of Valois." 1843. Edmund Flagg.

"Mrs. Ben Darby; or, The Weal and Woe of Social Life." Cincinnati, 1853. Mrs. Maria Collins.

"Drayton; an American Tale." 1851. Thomas H. Shreve.

"Life's Lesson; a Novel." 1855. Martha M. Thomas.

"Zoe; or, The Quadroon's Triumph." Cincinnati, 1856. **Mrs. E. D. Livermore.**

"The Old Corner Cupboard." Cincinnati, 1856. **Susan B. Jewett.**

"Emma Bartlett; or, Prejudice and Fanaticism." Cincinnati, 1856. **Anonymous.**

"Mabel; or, Heart Histories." Columbus, 1859. **Rosella Rice.**

CHAPTER X.

DR. DANIEL DRAKE, THE FRANKLIN OF CINCINNATI.

A year and a half before Rufus Putnam, with his colony of Ohio's founders, settled at the mouth of the Muskingum; three years before the founders of Cincinnati landed at Yeatman's Cove, Daniel Drake was born, October 20, 1785. He was a toddling baby, in his fourth year, when George Washington rode from Mount Vernon to New York, the National Capital, to be inaugurated President, on the balcony of Federal Hall.

Drake was born in New Jersey. His parents were poor, and while Daniel was an infant they moved West, hoping to better their fortunes, and located in the woods near Maysville, Kentucky. The family made their temporary abode in a reconstructed sheep-cote. This was changed for a cabin, built on a hillside in such a way that under one end of it sheep were sheltered and protected from the wolves. Sometimes the young lambs were carried into the cabin and warmed, like the children, before the blazing logs of the big fire-place. The small farm which Isaac Drake tilled was an island of "clearing" in a sea of forest. The family lived primitively, frugally, close to mother earth and her wholesome realities. The seasons' changing altered the tasks. Out of doors the boy Daniel learned to use the ax, the plow, the hoe; he learned to take care of domestic animals, to yoke oxen, to harness and drive horses. The backwoods farmer depended upon no "middle men" to supply his wants. Food he dug from the ground, or shot in the woods, or caught with a hook in the stream. Butter, cheese, soap, candles, were manufactured by the housewife. Shoes were cobbled at home on a home-made last. Wool was carded and spun and woven into garments at home. The bark of the butternut fur-

nished dyestuff; oak-bark and copperas afforded ink; the pen was a goose-quill, and the blots on the paper were absorbed by a sprinkling of sand. Young Drake learned not only—

> "To plow and to sow, to reap and to mow,
> And be a farmer's boy;"

he did "chores" at the house and the barn, the yard and the garden. He could weave and churn, or help his mother make soap, cheese, and "root-beer." Like Lincoln, he spent most of his boyhood out-of-doors, and was educated by "sight, scent, and hearing." Perhaps he was born under the influence of some scientific star, for it came natural to him to observe and note physical facts and phenomena. What his quick senses perceived his memory held in firm grasp and his reason and imagination digested. Whatever he had once seen or heard he never forgot. Shut off from access to books, he was drawn to study objects and to reach general conclusions by a slow process, but he escaped the disadvantages that often accompany the artificiality of early reading. Words did not betray him by passing for things.

The "tongues in trees" and "books in running brooks," were not his only teachers. The Bible and Æsop's Fables and the Life of Franklin were in his father's cabin; he read the history of Montellion in the line of romance, and Darwin's Botanic Garden in the line of poetry.

Several school-masters, in brief turns, helped the lad from Dillworth's spelling-book to the middle of arithmetic. One of these pioneer pedagogues kept school within the walls of a still-house. Daniel's last and best teacher—Master Smith—gave him some insight into the elements of natural science by way of preparing him to study medicine. This was in 1800, when the youth was only fifteen. Fifty years afterward he wrote to his grandchildren: "My greatest acquisition was some knowledge of surveying. Of grammar I knew nothing, and, unfortunately, there was no one within my reach who could teach it."

When the pioneers wanted to know what was going on in the world, they hailed an Ohio river boat and got on board. Every type of men, and all sorts of knowledge, rode on the barges that floated down or were poled up the great rivers. It was on the deck of a boat that Isaac Drake fell into conversation with one Dr. William Goforth, of Cincinnati. The conversation resulted in the determination that Daniel should go to the city and study medicine.

Cheered by the good wishes of friends and neighbors, and warned to shun the evil allurements of gay Fort Washington, in the town of "Cin," or Sin, as the Queen City was called dubiously, the excited boy, accompanied by his father and a Mr. Johnson, made the journey on horseback, from Maysville, in three days. The following description of Doctor Goforth's residence and its vicinity was given by Daniel Drake in 1852:

"East of the fort, on the upper plain, the trunks of trees were still lying on the ground. A single house had been built by Dr. Allison, where the Lytle house[1] now stands, and a field of several acres stretched off to the east and north. On my arrival this was the residence of my preceptor. The dry corn stalks of early winter were still standing near the door. But Dr. Allison had planted peach trees, and it was known throughout the village as Peach Grove. The field extended to the bank of Deer creek. Thence all was deep wood. Where the munificent expenditures of Nicholas Longworth, Esq.,[2] have collected the beautiful exotics of all climates—on the very spot where the people now go to watch the unfolding of the night-blooming cereus—grew the redbud, crab-apple, and gigantic tulip-tree, or yellow poplar, with wild birds

[1] The Lytle mansion, built in 1809 by General Wm. Lytle, still stands (No. 66 Lawrence street), and is one of the landmarks of early Cincinnati. It was the home of General Robert Lytle, and of his distinguished son, General W. H. Lytle, the poet; and is now occupied by a daughter of General Robert Lytle, Mrs. Josephine Foster. Adjoining the Lytle lot is the old Washington McLean homestead, where General Grant was entertained in 1877. This is now a conservatory of music.

[2] Now the David Sinton residence, on Pike street.

above and native flowers below. Where the catawba and Herbemont now swing down their heavy clusters, the climbing water-vine hung its small sour bunches from the limbs of high trees. The adjoining valley of Deer creek, down which, by a series of locks, the canal from Lake Erie mingles its waters with the Ohio, was then a receptacle for drift-wood from the backwater of that river when high. The boys ascended the little estuary in canoes, during June floods, and pulled flowers from the lower limbs of the trees, or threw clubs at the turtles as they sunned themselves on the floating logs. In the whole valley there was but a single house, and that was a distillery! The narrow road which led to it from the garrison—and, I am sorry to add, from the village, also—was well trodden."

Dr. Drake has left us a piquant short history of his eccentric preceptor, Dr. Goforth. Mobbed, with other students, in New York city, for the alleged offense of dissecting human subjects, Goforth left the East and came to Cincinnati in 1800. He was the first, it is claimed, to practice vaccination in the West, and Drake was the first person he vaccinated. Violently opposed to bleeding, he would not so much as allow his pupils to read books advocating the use of the lancet. Inventive, but visionary, he devised a wonderful plan to clarify ginseng for the Chinese market. One of his schemes, on which much time and money were spent, was to extract silver and gold from the earths of the Ohio Valley; and he had emissaries who sought in the woods for the precious ores, aided by the potent divining rod. At least one of his wizards professed to use a magic-glass, through which he could peer into the very caverns of the gnomes, a thousand feet below the surface of the ground. The versatile doctor had a propensity for natural history, and he obtained from Big Bone Lick, at enormous expense and trouble, the skeleton of a mammoth, which he intrusted to an English impostor, one Thomas Ashe, who ran away with the gigantic specimen and sold it for his own benefit.

When the War of 1812 broke out, Goforth went to

Louisiana, as army surgeon. In 1814 he returned, with his family, on a flat-boat, being eight months on the way from New Orleans to Cincinnati. He died in 1817. Scrupulous in dress, he wore elegant gloves, powdered his hair, and carried a gold-headed cane. His manner was dignified, if not pompous; but he was the soul of kindness and courtesy, and was loved and esteemed by every body.

Such was young Drake's instructor in the rudiments of medical science. Teacher and pupil agreed so well that they formed a partnership. The junior member of the firm was honored with a diploma from the senior, who seems to have taken upon himself the function of a medical college. But Drake was desirous of fuller information, and ambitious of higher honors. The fame of the University of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, had reached his ears. To that excellent medical school he went in November, 1805. Writing home he said: "I learn all I can, I try not to lose a single moment, seeing I have to pay so dear for leave to stay in the city a few months." Again he wrote: "I sleep only six hours in the twenty-four, and, when awake, try never to lose a moment. I had not money enough to take a ticket at the Hospital Library, and therefore had to borrow books."

Returning to the West, Dr. Drake located for a time at Mayslick, Kentucky, and then removed to Cincinnati, where he settled, and soon had a good practice. He presently joined a young men's debating club, where he "ventilated his intellectual fires" in discussion with the rising men of the village, among whom may be named John McLean, afterward supreme judge; Joseph G. Totten, who became chief engineer in the army; and Thomas S. Jesup, the quartermaster-general.

In the autumn of 1807, the young doctor was married to Miss Harriet Sisson, niece and adopted daughter of Colonel Jared Mansfield, of "Ludlow Station." Mansfield was surveyor-general for the North-western Territory. His son, E. D. Mansfield, became very intimate with Drake, and in 1855 wrote his "Life."

Daniel Drake, at the age of twenty-two, established in

his profession and contented in his domestic relations, began the long series of practical and varied labors which preserve his name from forgetfulness, and which will be more appreciated in the future than they have been hitherto. So many good works did he undertake, so much did he accomplish, so effectually did he stimulate exertion in others, both friends and enemies, that I think he may be called with propriety the *Franklin of Cincinnati.* Much of what he did for this western metropolis reminds us of the philosopher who aided in founding the early institutions of Philadelphia.

In 1810, Dr. Drake published the first essay in medical literature that appeared in Cincinnati. This was a pamphlet of sixty pages, bearing the title, "Notices of Cincinnati, Its Topography, Climate and Diseases." It was printed at the office of Rev. John W. Browne, and the type was set by Sacket Reynolds. From this rare pamphlet we learn that, in 1809, the number of houses in Cincinnati was 360, the population 2,320 souls, "of which number 1,127 are males, 1,013 females, and 80 are negroes." "The number of persons over forty-five years of age is 184." "The dress of our inhabitants is similar to that of the other inhabitants of the Middle States."

The call for copies of Drake's "Notices" induced the author to enlarge his design and make a more complete handbook. In 1815 appeared the "Natural and Statistical View, or Picture of Cincinnati." This, in some features, was patterned after the "Picture of Philadelphia," an eastern publication issued some years previously. The "Picture of Cincinnati" is a sturdy little book, and has held its own for more than three-score years and ten, and is instinct with life and vigor yet. Like Flint's "Ten Years in the Mississippi Valley," it was written without the help of other books. The author, unaided, gathered his facts at first hand. Here is one man against the wilderness—a man without much scientific reading or method, and very mistrustful of his grammar, but with most inquisitive eyes, ears, nose, mouth and fingers. He starts his investigation at his own door, and pursues it in

all his walks, rides, conversation and letters. With what avidity he gathers, assorts, arranges, and interprets his material! How completely and vividly he observes and reports! In this book are bits of clear description that must have been written on the spot—spontaneographs. Drake's statements are invariably simple and earnest. His botany is tonic—it tastes of ginseng, snake-root and cherry-bark. As his particulars accumulate and his views enlarge, he suggests a general law or an ingenious theory. He struggled with the problem of the weather and of the hurricane. He speculated on the nature of the "miasma" of the "bottom lands." He compared the Miami country with the Atlantic country. No one can read his brave pioneer book without admiring the original force and sagacity of its composer.

The "Picture of Cincinnati" is the Old Testament of Cincinnati in regard to local history. In it the vigilant annalist traced the progress of his town from its founding to the hour of his writing. The newness of the settlement, in 1815, is indicated by Drake's telling that "venison is brought from the woods during the proper season, and bear meat is now and then offered."

Dr. Drake was, conjointly with Rev. Joshua L. Wilson, a founder of Lancaster Seminary, the first large school of Cincinnati. Dr. Wilson proposed the establishment of the school. Drake was the secretary of the organizing board. The school went into operation in 1814, under the presidency of Jacob Burnet. The next year it was chartered as Cincinnati College.

The Cincinnati Circulating Library Society was created by the exertions of Dr. Drake. The library was opened in 1814, in the College building. In 1816 the directors were Daniel Drake (who was president), Jesse Embree, Thomas Peirce, Peyton S. Symmes, David Wade and Micajah T. Williams. The librarian was David Cathcart.

The library contained fourteen hundred volumes. About the year 1830 the books were packed away in the cellar of the book-store of Williamson & Strong, on Main

street. Here they lay for several years gathering mold, until Rev. James H. Perkins took the liberty to overhaul the boxes and bring their contents to light. Many of the books were ruined. The treasured volume of "Wilson's Ornithology" fell to pieces when handled. Such of the books as were worth saving were placed upon the shelves of the library of the Ohio Mechanics' Institute, where some of them may now be seen.

I have alluded to the Young Men's Debating Society, of which Drake was a member. That society arose about 1806. A much more ambitious association was started in 1813, called the School of Literature and the Arts. The first president of this vigorous and confident organization was Return Jonathan Meigs, United States surveyor-general, a gentleman of many accomplishments. Before the "school" had been in operation a year, Mr. Meigs was appointed commissioner of the general land-office, and he removed to Washington. Dr. Daniel Drake succeeded to the presidency of the "school," and delivered an elaborate anniversary address November 23, 1814. The address was "published by order"—a small pamphlet of twelve pages, rudely printed on dingy, coarse paper.

It appears from the Anniversary Address that during the year no fewer than twenty-three essays and addresses were delivered in the meetings of this backwoods "School of Literature and the Arts." Most of the subjects treated pertain more to natural and physical science than to literature or art. The first paper read was on "Education," the thirteenth on "Common Sense," and the seventeenth on "Enthusiasm," three forces on which the pioneers put much reliance.

Our grandfathers rhymed, as our grandsons will do. The address assures posterity that, in the School of Literature and Arts, the "exercise of poetical recitation has been strictly performed, and our album of poetry already exhibits specimens indicative of a cultivated taste." With characteristic good sense and clear perception of his "environment" Dr. Drake added that "literary excellence in Paris, London, or Edinburgh is *incomparable* with

the same thing in Philadelphia, New York, or Boston, while each of these in turn has a standard of merit, which may be contrasted, but can not be compared, with that of Lexington or Cincinnati. Still, comparative superiority in Europe, the Atlantic States, or the backwoods is equally gratifying, and gives to him who possesses it the same influence over the community to which he belongs." Discussing the prospects of "backwoods" literature, he says, suggestively: "New countries, it is true, can not afford the elegancies and refinements of learning, but they are not so unpropitious to the growth of intellect as we generally suppose. The facilities for improvement which they furnish differ from those in an old country more in kind than in degree. In new countries the empire of prejudice is comparatively insignificant; and the mind, not depressed by the dogmas of licensed authority nor fettered by the chains of inexorable custom, is left free to expand according to its original constitution."

In the autumn of 1815, Dr. Drake went to Philadelphia and completed his course of medical studies, receiving the degree Doctor of Medicine, the first conferred upon an Ohio student. While in the city of Ben Franklin, with its opportunities and associations, the hungry-minded young student from the Buckeye State availed himself of more lectures than his professors gave, and other acquaintances than his immediate purpose required. Through the courtesy of Dr. Casper Wistar, president of the American Philosophical Society, he attended the meetings of that learned body which Franklin founded in 1744. He was invited also to select gatherings of literary men and women who came together informally at Dr. Wistar's house and held what they called "Wistar parties." This Philadelphia idea Drake carried home with him, and when, in after years, he lived in his own elegant house on Vine street, he held levees there similar to those he witnessed in the Quaker City.

Having obtained his diploma he returned to Cincinnati, May, 1816. In addition to his professional duties and his general activity as a public-spirited citizen, this energetic

man embarked in several business ventures, most of which proved disastrous. Under the firm name, D. Drake & Co., he and his brother Benjamin dealt in drugs and medicines. Later, in connection with his father, who removed to Cincinnati, he started a general store of dry goods, groceries, and hardware, putting out the sign, Isaac Drake & Co. A novel commodity was vended at Isaac Drake & Co.'s, namely, *soda-water*, the first that ever sparkled from a fountain in the West. But drugs, dry goods, groceries, hardware, and soda-water all deceived expectation, and the Drakes lost money.

Far more serious trouble had come upon Dr. Drake personally. Two children were taken from him by death, and his wife's health and his own were impaired. Such private afflictions, though little is said of them to the world, are really to the individual the great events of experience. Who forgets the grave of his child?

The book of a man's life is divided into natural chapters. Dr. Drake turned a new leaf and began a second series of enterprises in the year 1817, being then thirty-two years old. To his friend, Colonel Mansfield, he wrote: "I am now going to astonish you—so cling hold to every support within your reach—*I am a professor.*" The "Picttures of Cincinnati" had secured its author reputation and an appointment. He was called to the chair of Materia Medica in the newly-formed College of Medicine of Transylvania University, Lexington, Kentucky. This was the first medical college in the West. From the time Dr. Drake began to lecture in Lexington to the close of his life, thirty-two years later, his name was identified with the history of medical institutions, as founder, instructor, editor, and author. By his exertions the Medical College of Ohio was created; by his personal persuasion in the House of Representatives, the Cincinnati Commercial Hospital was established; he instituted an eye infirmary in the city; he organized a medical department in the Miami University, and one in Cincinnati College. He conducted, for many years, the Western Medical and Physical Journal; he published a volume of essays on

"Medical Education," and, as the crowning achievement of his professional life, he gave to the world, after thirty years of preparation, his great work on the "Diseases of the Interior Valley of North America." To collect the material for this treatise, the author traveled from Lake Superior to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Alleghenies to the Rocky Mountains. Like the "Picture of Cincinnati," it is a purely original book. Allibone's Dictionary mentioned it as "probably the most important and valuable work ever written in the United States."

The detail of Dr. Drake's professional quarrels, contests, victories, and discomfitures belongs to the history of medicine rather than that of literature. He has told the story of his hard-fought battles with much wit and candor. It was a peculiarly dramatic and grimly humorous incident in his experience to be dismissed, by a formal vote, from directorship in the college he had founded. John P. Foote, discussing Drake's "belligerent propensities," remarks that the early history of the Medical College of Ohio may, not inaptly, be styled a "History of the Thirty Years' War." More than thirty-five years have gone by since Foote wrote, and now Dr. Drake's name is honored by all sections of the noble profession to which he belonged, and in which he did his duty as he saw it, fighting admirably. His praises are now the theme of graduating speeches, and his portrait decorates programmes and diplomas. The distinguished Dr. Gross, in a "Discourse on the Life and Character of Daniel Drake," delivered in Louisville, in 1853, said: "Of all the medical teachers whom I have ever heard, he was the most forcible and eloquent. His voice was remarkably clear and distinct, and so powerful that, when the windows of his lecture-room were open, it could be heard at a great distance. He sometimes read his discourse, but generally he ascended the rostrum without note or scrip."

Dr. Drake was a knight-errant in his profession. From Lexington he removed to Cincinnati, thence to Lexington again, thence to Cincinnati, thence to Philadelphia, thence to Cincinnati, thence to Louisville, and finally to Cincin-

nati. He belongs, therefore, to the whole Ohio Valley; and more, his labors and his influence spread through many states. His reputation became national, and even international. In the Central West he was regarded as *the* great doctor. Many strangers consulted him by letter. Lamont tells us that Abraham Lincoln wrote to Dr. Drake, from his home in Illinois, soliciting advice in regard to the mental malady caused by the "rail-splitter's" love-distraction.

But it is with Drake as a man of general culture, and a promoter of intellectual interests, outside of his special vocation, that our present study is mainly concerned. Mention has been made of the part he took in organizing the Circulating Library, the School of Literature and Arts, and the Lancastrian Seminary. Another enterprise undertaken just after the war of 1812–15, was the formation of a museum society, for the collection of objects in natural history. The father of this institution was Dr. Daniel Drake. The gathering of specimens was begun in 1818, but the museum was not formally opened until June 10, 1820. Dr. Drake, who was secretary of the society, delivered an address, at the opening, on the "Zoology, Geology, and Antiquities of the West."

I have an interesting autograph stating the "conditions on which the managers of the Western Museum Society are willing to place the museum in the edifice of the Cincinnati College." The article was agreed to by the trustees of the college, March 25, 1819, and it reads as follows:

"Whereas, it has been represented to this board that the trustees of the Cincinnati College are desirous of having the collections of this society placed in the college for the use and benefit of the students of that institution, therefore be it resolved,

"That the museum of the society shall be disposed of under the following conditions:

"1. A proper room or rooms shall be appropriated by the trustees of the college, for which no rent shall be demanded.

"2. The managers of the society shall continue to direct all its concerns.

"3. The members of the society, with such persons as by the by-laws of the society they may be entitled to introduce, shall be admitted into the museum at such times as may be prescribed by the managers.

"4. The pupils of the college shall have admission to the museum under the superintendence and responsibility of the president of the college, to whom, when the managers of the society do not direct otherwise, shall be confided the keeping of the room.

"5. Articles of the museum may be used by the professors of the college in the illustration of their lectures.

"6. Such articles as may be prescribed and designated by the donors, for the cabinet of the college, shall be considered its property, and labeled as such when placed in the museum.

"7. This museum shall not be removed by either party without giving six months' previous notice."

This document is signed by "Daniel Drake, Secretary," in a bold, free hand.

The society was a joint stock company, with shares of fifty dollars each. The first board of managers were Elijah Slack, William Steele, Jesse Embree, Peyton S. Symmes, and Daniel Drake. The naturalist, Audubon, was one of the artists and curators of the society in 1820. The board, in an appendix to Dr. Drake's printed address, solicited their "fellow-citizens of the backwoods generally" to contribute to the museum.

Dr. Robert Best, afterward professor at Transylvania, was appointed by the society, with assistants, to collect specimens in archæology and natural history from the region of the great lakes.

The collections seem to have been deposited at first in Cincinnati College, but they were soon removed to a building on the north-west corner of Second and Main streets, and placed in custody of Mons. J. Dorfeuille, of Louisiana, who became manager and afterward proprietor of the Western Museum. The original character of the museum

was strictly useful; the founders aimed to diffuse knowledge and promote scientific inquiry. Mr. Dorfueille gave didactic lectures on ornithology and on the faculties of the human mind. The learned and amiable proprietor discovered that people must be amused as well as instructed, and by degrees he added the usual stock of "curiosities" and monstrosities to his scientific attractions. Foote's Literary Gazette, for March 13, 1834, contains an original poem of ten eight-line stanzas, inspired by the marvels of the Western Museum:

"Wend hither, ye members of polished society—
Ye who the bright phantoms of pleasure pursue—
To see of strange objects the endless variety,
Monsieur Dorfeuille will expose to your view.
For this fine collection, which courts your inspection,
Was brought to perfection by his skill and lore,
When those who projected, and should have protected
Its interests, neglected to care for it more.

Here are pictures, I doubt not, as old as Methusalem,
But done at what place I can't say, nor by whom;
Some of which represent certain saints of Jerusalem,
And others, again, monks of Venice and Rome;
Old black letter-pages of far-distant ages,
Which puzzle the sages to read and translate,
And manuscripts musty, coins clumsy and rusty,
Of which Time, untrusty, has not kept the date.

Lo, here is a cabinet of great curiosities,
Procured from the Redmen, who once were our foes;
Unperishing tokens of dire animosities—
Darts, tomahawks, war-cudgels, arrows, and bows.
And bone-hooks for fishes and old earthern dishes,
To please him who wishes o'er such things to pore;
Superb wampum sashes, and mica-slate glasses,
Which doubtless the lasses much valued of yore."

An advertisement in the Mirror, in June, 1834, after enumerating the special attractions of the museum, a "Beautiful moss-covered Fountain," the "Phœnakistoscope," the "Enormous Elk," closes thus:

Come hither, come hither, by night or by day,
There's plenty to look at and little to pay;

You may stroll through the rooms and at every turn
There's something to please you and something to learn.
If weary and heated, rest here at your ease,
There's a fountain to cool you and music to please;
And further, a secret I still have to tell,
You may ramble up-stairs, and on earth be in ——.

It is but natural that, favored by puffs so happy as this, Mr. Dorfeuille advertised freely, and that in his generosity he announced that "the clergy of all denominations are admitted gratuitously." Rev. Timothy Flint, possibly availing himself of his clerical privilege, or perhaps of his editorial perquisite, being proprietor of the Western Monthly Review, often stepped down to the corner from his son's book-store, 160 Main street, to survey the wonders of Dorfeuille's Museum. The kindly editor writes in his magazine for May, 1827: "To see such numerous and magnificent collections from the several kingdoms of nature, so happily arranged in such large and commodious apartments, in a city little more than thirty years old, is a circumstance that excites surprise. Taking into view the recent origin of the city, they struck us with more effect than any we had seen in the United States."

A morbid taste for the unnatural always brings the supply it craves. There was a chamber of "horrors" in the museum, in which were displayed bloody knives and hatchets that murderers had used, and ropes that had strangled the murderers, and wax figures of criminals in the very act of taking innocent life. The supreme attraction of the dreadful room was the "Head of Hoover," the actual head of a murderer, swollen and distorted, in a huge glass jar of alcohol.

Mrs. Trollope, serving up Cincinnati with her usual piquant sour sauce, says Mr. Dorfeuille "is a man of taste and science, but a collection formed strictly after their dictates would, by no means, satisfy the Western metropolis. The people have a most extravagant passion for wax figures, and the museums vie with each other in displaying specimens in this barbarous branch of art. As Mr. Dorfeuille can not trust to his science for attracting the citi-

zens, he has put his ingenuity into requisition, and this has proved to him the surer aid of the two. He has constructed a pandemonium in an upper story of his museum, in which he has congregated all the images of horror that his fertile fancy could devise; dwarfs that, by machinery, grow into giants before the eyes of the spectator; imps of ebony, with eyes of flame; monstrous reptiles devouring youth and beauty; lakes of fire and mountains of ice; in short, wax, paint, and springs have done wonders. To give the scheme some more effect, he makes it visible only through a grate of massive iron bars, among which are arranged wires connected with an electrical machine in a neighboring chamber. Should any daring hand or foot obtrude itself within the bars, it receives a smart shock that often passes through many of the crowd, and the cause being unknown, the effect is exceedingly comic; terror, astonishment, curiosity, all are set in action, and all contribute to make 'Dorfeuille's Hell' one of the most amusing exhibitions possible."

"Dorfeuille's Hell," or, as it came to be more mildly called, the "Infernal Regions," was designed and constructed by the afterwards famous artist, Hiram Powers. The hand whose cunning fashioned the statue of the Greek Slave, overcame the primary difficulties of the plastic art by shaping the hideous figures of the Western Museum somewhat as Wilhelm Meister's apprenticeship began with the acting puppets of his child's theater.

Powers was a very ingenious mechanic, and in the days when he was learning to use the clay and the sculptor's chisel in his little studio on Sixth street, he was often hired to come to the shop of his next-door neighbor, Mr. Luman Watson, clock-maker, to design or complete some peculiarly difficult piece of work, such as a musical organ.

Powers was assisted in the creation of "Inferno" by Hervieu, the French artist, who accompanied Mrs. Trollope to this country, and who decorated the panels of the Bazaar with classical designs.

He it was, also, who painted an immense canvas representing the "Landing of Lafayette in Cincinnati."

A vivid description of the "Infernal Regions" may be found in Hall's Western Magazine for April, 1835. The diabolical exhibition was very popular, and it must have been kept up during a period of at least twenty years, for I well remember going with my father to witness it. I was a small boy, and I recall even yet the feeling of terror with which I beheld the glaring eyes of the frightful female named Sin, who sat hard by the infernal gates, and who jumped at me with a horrid cry. The King of Terrors himself I recollect as a decidedly good-natured, though long-horned old gentleman, and I did not understand why all the visitors laughed so impolitely when he assured them he was very glad to see them in that place.

Dorfeuille finally transported the "Infernal Regions" to New York city. There the good Frenchman died, and his moral exhibition was closed on earth.

The Western Museum was rivaled by "Letton's," a similar institution, located many years in a building still standing on the north-west corner of Fourth and Main streets, Cincinnati.

Dr. Drake with ardent spirit opposed the use of ardent spirits. Among his works is a monogram of sixty-six pages, entitled "A Discourse on Intemperance; delivered at Cincinnati, March 1, 1828, before the Agricultural Society of Hamilton County, and subsequently pronounced by request, to a popular audience." It is dedicated to Joshua L. Wilson, D.D. The discourse discusses the whole subject of "rum" in its scientific, political and moral aspects. The doctor was a Prohibitionist; he would suppress the sale of intoxicants, and not make the liquor traffic a source of revenue. The drunkard should be subject to legal disabilities, he should neither hold office, nor serve on a jury, nor be eligible as a witness in court. His property should be put in the hands of trustees.

Mr. Mansfield, in his "Life of Drake," relates a funny incident that happened on the occasion of the delivery of the speech on intemperance to a general audience. A large crowd assembled at the court-house at 3 o'clock of a hot afternoon in September, to hear the popular speaker

advocate an unpopular cause. Many purple-nosed heroes were present, and listened with good-natured disapproval to the condemnation dealt out to them and their vice. The discussion was not only exhaustive, but exhausting, being very long and rather dry, on which account a rubicund listener cried out, "Let's adjourn awhile and take a drink!" An intermission was actually taken, during which the thirsty regaled themselves at the bar of McFarland's tavern, near by, after which the meeting came to order again, and the speech was concluded.

In 1825 Dr. Drake's wife died. This calamity overwhelmed him. Three children, a son and two daughters, left motherless to his care, he brought up with the utmost solicitude and affection. Chiefly on account of his daughters, when they grew old enough to see society, he brought about a series of social and literary receptions at his house, which stood on the lot now covered by "The Albany," on Vine street. E. D. Mansfield has recorded, with glowing personal interest, his recollections of these "Vine Street Reunions." "We used to assemble early—about half-past seven, and when fully collected, the doctor, who was the acknowledged chairman, rung his little bell for general attention. This caused no constraint, but simply brought us to a common point, which was to be the topic of the evening. Sometimes this was appointed beforehand, sometimes it arose out of what was said or proposed on the occasion. Some evenings compositions were read on topics selected at the meeting. On other evenings nothing was read, and the time was passed in a general discussion of some interesting question. Occasionally a piece of poetry or a story came in to diversify and enliven the conversation. These, however, were rather interludes than parts of the general plan, whose main object was the discussion of questions belonging to society, literature, education and religion."

These pleasant meetings must have occurred about the same time as those of the "Semicolon Club," which were held, usually, at the houses of Sam. E. Foote, Wm. Green and Chas. Stetson, from 1832 to 1837. Among the lead-

ing participants in both the companies were General Edward King, Judge Jas. Hall, Prof. Calvin Stowe and Mrs. Stowe, and Mrs. Caroline Lee Hentz.

When the Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers was established in 1833, Dr. Drake took a leading part its great work. Many of his addresses are preserved in the published "Transactions" of the college. Drake's readiness of tongue and pen, and his social accomplishments, fitted him for the sprightly and genial oratory of "occasions." At festivals, anniversaries, dedications, he was a central figure. A celebration in which he took a prominent part was held on December 26, 1833, the forty-fifth anniversary of the settlement of Cincinnati. The presiding officers were: President, Major Daniel Gano; vice-presidents, Wm. R. Morris, Henry E. Spencer, and Moses Lyon. Rev. J. B. Finley and Rev. Wm. Burke officiated as chaplains. The character of the celebration was purely western; those who planned it were native citizens. One hundred and sixty invited guests sat down at the table "in the Cincinnati Commercial Exchange, on the river bank, near where the first cabin was erected in 1788."

The unique feature of the ceremonies was the Buckeye dinner, with accompanying speeches, poems, and songs. The banquet itself was such as would delight Mark Twain, so abundant and American it was. Field, forest, and river contributed fruit, game, and fish to the bounteous board. A pair of fat racoons was served up smoking. The favorite potation of the feast was called "sangaree," a sort of innocent punch, which was dipped lavishly from four huge bowls carved from Buckeye wood. There was also plenty of wine furnished by Nicholas Longworth from his vintage of Catawba gathered on the hills of the Beautiful River. The formal exercises of the day consisted of an oration by Mr. Joseph Longworth, a poetical address by Peyton S. Symmes, and an ode by Charles D. Drake, the doctor's son, now Judge Drake, of Washington, D. C. In response to the toast, "The Emigrants, whether from sister states or foreign climes," Edward

King presented a poem by Mrs. Lee Hentz, in which the fair *bas bleu* praised the "sires" who—

> "First raised this city's heavenward spires,
> And based upon the unblessed sod
> The temples of the living God.
> The germs of science, genius, taste,
> They laid in the uncultured waste,
> And hallowed with the Christian's prayer,
> The wild beasts' then untrodden lair."

There was also an after-dinner speech by the veteran General Harrison, the hero by popular favor soon to become President of the United States.

But *the speech* of the occasion was called out by the fifth regular toast, to "The Author of the Picture of Cincinnati." The doctor discoursed on the Buckeye Tree. Happily the address has been preserved in print, and one risks little in prophesying that it will hold a permanent place in our literature on account of both its subject and its style. The speaker said:

"Being born in the East, I am not *quite* a native of the Valley of the Ohio, and, therefore, am not a Buckeye by birth. Still, I might claim to be a greater Buckeye than most of you who were born in the city, for my Buckeyeism belongs to the *country*, a better soil for rearing Buckeyes than the town.

"My first remembrances are of a Buckeye cabin in the depths of a cane-brake on one of the tributary brooks of the Licking river; for whose waters, as they flow into the Ohio opposite our city, I feel some degree of affection. At the date of these recollections the spot where we are now assembled was a beech and buckeye grove, no doubt altogether unconscious of its approaching fate. Thus I am a Buckeye by engrafting, or rather by inoculation, being only in the bud when I began to draw my nourishment from the depths of a buckeye bowl. . . .

"We are now assembled on a spot which is surrounded by vast warehouses, filled to overflowing with the earthen and iron domestic utensils of China, Birmingham, Sheffield, and I should add, the great western manufacturing

town at the head of our noble river. The poorest and the obscurest family in the land may be, and is, in fact, adequately supplied. How different was the condition of the early emigrants! A journey of a thousand miles over wild and rugged mountains, permitted the adventurous pioneer to bring with him little more than the Indian or the Arab carried from place to place—*his wife and children.* Elegances were unknown, even articles of pressing necessity were few in number, and when lost or broken could not be replaced. In that period of trying deprivation, to what quarter did the first settlers turn their inquiring and anxious eyes? To the buckeye! Yes, gentlemen, to the buckeye tree; and it proved a friend indeed, because, in the simple and expressive language of those early times, it was a friend in need. Hats were manufactured of its fibers, the tray for the delicious 'pone' and 'johnny-cake,' the venison trencher, the noggin, the spoon, and the huge, white family bowl for mush and milk, were carved from its willing trunk; and the finest 'boughten' vessels could not have imparted a more delicious flavor, or left an impression so enduring. He who has ever been concerned in the petty brawls, the frolic and the fun of a family of young Buckeyes around the great wooden bowl, overflowing with the 'milk of human kindness,' will carry the sweet remembrance to the grave.

"Thus beyond all the trees of the land the buckeye was associated with the family circle—penetrating its privacy, facilitating its operations, and augmenting its enjoyments. Unlike many of its loftier associates, it did not bow its head and wave its arms at a haughty distance, but it might be said to have held out the *right hand of fellowship;* for of all the trees of our forest it is the only one with five leaflets arranged on one stem—an expressive symbol of the human hand."

Another pioneer celebration which took place December 26, 1838, the semi-centennial of the settlement of the Queen City, Dr. Drake was the orator.

So enthusiastic was this energetic and original student of realities; so much in love with the men and institu-

tions among which he lived, that he proposed to write the history of the West. A volume was promised in 1839, but professional duties prevented its completion. What the character of such a book would have been we may infer from reading Drake's "Discourse on the History, Character, and prospects of the West," delivered to the Union Literary Society of Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, September 23, 1834. The sections of this discourse which interest us most are those relating to the literature of the early West. The pamphlet from which I quote is so rare that few readers will see it, and the following extracts are therefore given, no less for the interesting facts they contain than for the testimony they bear to the good sense and generous sympathy of the author. The orator said: "Many of our writers have received but little education, and are far more anxious about results than the polish of the machinery by which they are to be effected. They write for a people whose literary attainments are limited and imperfect; whose taste is for the strong rather than the elegant, and who are not disposed or prepared to criticise any mode of expression that is striking or original, whatever may be the deformities of its drapery—consequently but little solicitude is felt by our authors about classic propriety. Moreover, the emigration into the valley being from every civilized country, new and strange forms of expression are continually thrown into the great reservoir of spoken language, whence they are often taken up by the pen, transferred to our literature, and widely disseminated. For many years to come these causes will prevent attainment either of regularity or elegance; but gradually the heterogeneous rudiments will conform to a common standard, and finally shoot into a compound of rich and varied elements; inferior in refinement, but superior in force, variety, and freshness to the language of the mother country. . . . The literature of a yonng and a free people will, of course, be declamatory, and such, so far as it is yet developed, is the character of our own. Deeper learning will no doubt abate its verbosity and intumescence; but

our natural scenery and our liberal political and social institutions must long continue its character of floridness. And what is there in this that should excite regret in ourselves or raise derision in others? Ought not the literature of a free people to be declamatory? Should it not exhort and animate? If cold, literal, and passionless, how could it act as the handmaid of improvement? In absolute government all the political, social, and literary institutions are supported by the monarch—here they are originated and sustained by public sentiment. In despotisms it is of little use to awaken the feelings or warm the imagination of the people—here an excited state of both is indispensable to those popular movements by which society is to be advanced. Would you arouse men to voluntary action on great public objects, you must make their fancy and feelings glow under your presentations; you must not merely forward their reason, but their desires and will; the utility and loveliness of every object must be displayed to their admiration; the temperature of the heart must be raised and its cold selfishness melted away, as the snows which buried up the fields when acted on by an April sun; then, like the budding herb which shoots up from the soil, good and great acts of patriotism will appear. Whenever the literature of a new country loses its metaphorical and declamatory character the institutions which depend upon public sentiment will languish and decline, as the struggling boat is carried back by the impetuous waves of the Mississippi as soon as the propelling power relaxes. In this region low-pressure engines are found not to answer—high steam succeeds much better; and although an orator may now and then explode and go off in vapor, the majority make more productive voyages than could be performed under the influence of a temperate heat."

Dr. Drake wrote many pamphlets, a complete set of which comprised in four volumes may be found in the Congressional Library at Washington. They relate largely to medicine, though some are literary, others economic.

One of his practical writings is on the desirability of constructing a railroad from the Ohio river to the headwaters of the Carolinas and Georgia.

In the years 1847–8–9, Dr. Drake wrote, from Louisville, a series of reminiscential letters, addressed to his children.[1] These letters were collected into a volume, edited with notes and a biographical sketch by Judge Drake, and published by Robert Clarke & Co., under the general title, "Pioneer Life in Kentucky." Of these letters the Atlantic Monthly said:

"The letters of Dr. Drake are not merely personal reminiscences, but faithful pictures of local manners and customs. We can not advise any to turn to them for the realization of romantic ideas of the pioneers, but they are very interesting reading and very instructive. They form part of our own history, which daily grows more remarkable and precious; and we most heartily commend the volume, not only to collectors of such material, but to the average reader, as something very apt for his entertainment and then for his use."

Daniel Drake died at his home, in Cincinnati, Friday, November 5, 1852. One who knew him intimately writes these words: "The mere facts of Dr. Drake's public life give no just idea of his grand character. He was the greatest, most leonine yet the sweetest and most loving-hearted man I have ever known."

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[1] Drake's only son, Judge Charles D. Drake, now in his eightieth year, is residing in Washington. The eldest daughter became the wife of Hon. A. H. McGuffey. The second daughter, Harriet, married James P. Campbell, of Chillicothe. She is not living.

CHAPTER XI.

TIMOTHY FLINT, MISSIONARY, GEOGRAPHER, EDITOR, NOVELIST, AND POET.

In the cemetery of Harmony Grove, Salem, Massachusetts, there is a monument bearing the following epitaph, written by Rev. James Flint, D.D., in loving memory of his cousin and friend, Timothy Flint:

"He painted on his glowing page
The peerless valley of the West;
That shall, in every coming age,
His genius and his toils attest.
But wouldst thou, gentle pilgrim, know
What worth, what love endeared the man?
This the lone hearts that miss him, show
Better than storied marble can."

Thomas Flint and his brother William emigrated from Wales to New England probably before 1640. Flint street, Salem, is on ground once belonging to their farm land. Timothy Flint was a descendant, in the sixth generation, from Thomas. He was born at North Reading, Massachusetts, July 11, 1780, and died at the same town, in the house of his brother Peter, August 16, 1840. One of his uncles, Hezekiah Flint, came to Ohio in 1788, in the company of pioneers led by Rufus Putnam to the mouth of the Muskingum. Hezekiah Flint and family removed to Cincinnati, where he died in 1811. His son, named also Hezekiah, was a leading citizen of Cincinnati, whose death occurred in 1843, and whose portrait now hangs on the wall of the Mercantile Library. He was the grandfather of the late Nathan F. Baker, a scluptor of much ability known by his statue of "Egeria," in Spring Grove Cemetery, and his "Cincinnatus," in front of 25 West

Fourth street. He was a pupil of Powers. Mr. Baker died in February, 1891.

Timothy Flint was not quite eight years old when his uncle accompanied Putnam and the other colonists to Marietta.[1] Putnam started from Salem. The house of his father, Israel Putnam, "Old Put," is still standing near the old town, and is still occupied by Putnams. Flint distinctly remembered, as he tells us in the "Indian Wars of the West," the "wagon that carried out a number of adventurers from the counties of Essex and Middlesex, in Massachusetts, on the second emigration to the woods of Ohio." The wagon had a black cover, on which were painted in large white capital letters the words, "To Marietta, on the Ohio." It was Flint's impression that about twenty persons accompanied this wagon under the direction of Dr. Manasseh Cutler.

A ray of light is thrown upon the days and ways of yore by Flint's gossiping remark that "Dr. Cutler, at the time of his being engaged in the speculation of the Ohio Company's purchase, had a feud—it is not remembered whether literary, political, or religious—with the late learned and eccentric Dr. Bentley, of Salem. Dr. Bentley was then chief contributor to a paper which he afterward edited. The writer [Flint] still remembers and can repeat doggerel verses by Dr. Bentley upon the departure of Dr. Cutler on his first trip to explore his purchase on the Ohio."

Temple Cutler, Manasseh's youngest son, has written a charmingly clear account of the departure of the Ohio-bound adventurers from old Ipswich. He says: "The little band of pioneers assembled at the house of Dr. Cutler, in Ipswich, Massachusetts, on the 3d day of December, 1787, and there took an early breakfast. About the dawn of day they paraded in front of the house; and after a short address from him, full of good advice and hearty wishes for their happiness and prosperity, the men (one of whom was his son Jarvis, aged nineteen) went forward,

[1] The description of Flint's journey down the Ohio is taken, with some modification, from the author's "Footprints of the Pioneers."

cheered heartily by the by-standers. Dr. Cutler accompanied them to Danvers, when he placed them under command of Major Hatfield White and Captain Ezra Putnam. He had prepared a large and well-built wagon for their use, which preceded them with their baggage. This wagon, as a protection from cold and storm, was covered with black canvas, and on the sides was an inscription in white letters, I think, in these words, '*For the Ohio at the Muskingum,*' which Dr. Cutler painted with his own hand.

"Although I was then but six years old, I have a vivid recollection of all these circumstances, having seen the preparations and heard the conversation relating to this undertaking. I think the weather was pleasant and the sun rose clear; I know I almost wished I could be of the party then starting, for I was told we were all to go as soon as preparation was made for our reception."

The departure of the emigrant wagon, the leave-taking, and the general talk about the backwoods, kindled the imagination of young Flint. Doubtless he felt a strong desire to join the expedition and follow the black vehicle across the mountains. Most wonderful reports were spread abroad in New England concerning the inland country far toward the Mississippi. Romancing travelers told, with mock gravity, that watermelons as big as houses grew in the clearings of the West; that the flax plant in the Ohio Valley bore woven cloth on its branches; that honey trees were numerous along the Miami river; and that springs of brandy and rum gushed from the fortunate hills of Kentucky. But these blessings and delights were not unmixed with evil. Stories were invented which added ten-fold horror to the usual dangers of the hunt and the Indian fight; stories of storm, and disease, and starvation, and of the frightful hoop-snake, which, like a rapid wheel, span through the swamps and brakes upon its victims, its tail armed with a sting so venomous that a tree pierced ever so slightly by it instantly withered and died. The hoop-snake was scarcely more appalling to the imagination than the whip-snake, which drove cat-

tle to frenzy and death by lashing them with its tail; or the hissing serpent, which exhaled a subtile gas laden with mortal disease.

We do not know the particulars of Flint's boyhood. With his cousin, James, he attended Harvard College, graduating in 1800. Two years later he became pastor of the Congregational Church, at Lunenburg, Massachusetts, where he remained for twelve years. Before leaving college he gained some skill in composition. While at Lunenburg, he wrote and published several essays, addresses, and sermons, one of which was issued in a small volume with the title "Arguments, Natural, Moral, and Religious, for the Immorality of the Soul." Beginning his ministerial labors at the very time when a violent theological war was raging in Massachusetts between the forces of the old Calvanistic and the newer liberal orthodoxy, and also between the Trinitarians and the Unitarians, Flint became somewhat involved in the discussions of the day. He cared less for form and dogma than some of his brethren did, and was more than suspected of Arminianism. On theological questions he differed from his kinsman, Rev. James Flint, though on all other subjects they were as one. It was the spirit of controversial rancor that caused the peacefully-disposed Timothy to request a dismissal from his charge at Lunenburg. Moreover, his health was poor, and he was advised by Dr. James Flint and by Joseph Peabody, a wealthy merchant of Salem, to go forth as a missionary and preach the Gospel in the Western wilderness. It seems that Peabody, to whom he dedicated one of his books, used a full purse very liberally to forward the good cause, sending remittances as often as they were needed.

The second war with England had just closed, and the tide of migration was setting strongly toward the West, when, on October 14, 1815, Timothy Flint, with his wife and four or five children, took passage in a heavy traveling coach, bound for Pittsburg. They started as he had seen the emigrant wagon nearly thirty years before, from the ancient city of Salem. Many tears were shed as the

family bade their friends good-bye, for, at that time, though many went West, few came back. To the imagination the Alleghanies seemed a "barrier almost as impassable as the grave" to whomever had once crossed over.

The slow coach jostled on by the usual route, and near the end of the month began to toil over the mountains. The tavern signs, as if adapting themselves to the wild regions in which they hung, bore pictures of wolves and and bears as emblems. High above the Alleghany summits the bald eagle soared. The road was difficult and dangerous. Frequently it became necessary to lift the carriage across gullies washed out by recent rains. Hundreds of "Pittsburg wagons" were seen on the way to or from Philadelphia. Many of these had broken wheels and axles. Places were pointed out where teams had plunged down the precipice to destruction. The mountain teamsters seemed to the travelers like a new species of man. They were "unique in their appearance, language, and habits." Flint describes them as being "more rude, profane, and selfish than either sailors, boatmen, or hunters." He says:

"We found them addicted to drunkenness, and very little disposed to help one another. We were told that there were honorable exceptions, and even associations, who, like the sacred band of Thebes, took a kind of oath to stand by and befriend each other." The amiable missionary adds, with a touch of pious humor, that he often dropped among them, as if by accident, that impressive tract, "The Swearer's Prayer."

Among the traveling acquaintances of the Flints were a young Connecticut printer, with his pretty bride, going to Kentucky to start a "Gazette," and a burly Lutheran preacher bound for the Big Miami, who, with pipe in his mouth, rode comfortably on his horse, while his wife and young ones trudged beside their wagon.

When Flint's carriage approached the last range of the Alleghanies, the passengers, gazing out, saw a great drove of cattle and swine, which animals looked shaggy like

wolves, and the chief drover was a being as wild looking as Crusoe's man Friday. The droves were destined for the Philadelphia market, and had been driven from the valley of Mad river, in Ohio, a name which suggested to our excited travelers the idea of a savage land.

The long journey on slow wheels was at last ended, but not without the usual disaster of an upset. Just as the coach was about to enter Pittsburg, another carriage, coming rapidly out of town, collided with it, and the next moment the Flint family were struggling and shouting under a confusion of boxes, bundles and trunks, from which predicament they were released uninjured. Righting the vehicle, they got in again, and were soon lodged in a hotel, where the charges were double the amount asked for the same accommodations in Boston.

Flint's remarks on Pittsburg are disparaging. His opinion was that Wheeling, Cincinnati, and Louisville would soon take the trade and wealth away from the town of "sin and sea coal." The opening of the National road and the multiplication of steamboats threatened to hasten the "decay of Pittsburg." Flint thought the decline of Pittsburg was not to be regretted, for "she used to fatten on the spoils of the poor emigrants that swarmed to this place."

The first steamboat that navigated the Ohio river, the Orleans, was built at Pittsburg in 1811, only four years after Fulton's Clermont made her trial trip on East river. The Orleans made her first trip from Pittsburg to New Orleans in the winter of 1812. It was several years, however, before steamboats came into such general use on western waters as to exclude the earlier modes of navigation. Flint did not seem to think of waiting to take passage on a steamboat. Early in November, he embarked on a small flatboat owned by a Yankee trader, and loaded with "factory cottons" and cutlery. The smiling river Beautiful proved not so placid as she looked.

The frail flatboat, instead of floating gently along, as its owner and its passengers had expected, was whirled

and tossed about in a manner altogether alarming to all on board. Now the helpless craft was carried swiftly through a chute; now it stuck on a bar; and now it was dashed upon the rocks of "Dead Man's Riffle" and almost capsized, while the children shrieked, and the merchandise of cotton stuffs and hardware fell upon and buried poor Mrs. Flint. The scared Yankee trader and his reverend first mate forgot, in their confusion, to resort to their oars, but tried to save themselves by consulting the "Navigator," a guide-book descriptive of the Ohio and the Mississippi.

The reader will not wonder that, when they reached the village of Beaver, the family forsook the risky flat-boat and bought a pirogue, or large skiff, in which they continued their voyage. By the time they reached Wheeling they all were taken down with influenza, and were obliged to take lodgings at a house filled with other invalids. Sick, neglected, in a strange place, they helped one another as well as they could, but were so sensitive that their eyes filled with tears at the mere mention of Salem.

As soon as they had sufficiently recovered their strength, the Flints resumed their journey, going from Wheeling to Marietta in one of those long, slender, and graceful vessels of the period, called distinctively a keelboat. The peculiar species of boat known as the barge, or bargee, had almost passed into disuse, and was rarely to be seen at the time of Flint's trip. The length of such boats was from seventy-five to one hundred feet, the breadth from fifteen to twenty.

"The receptacle for the freight was a large covered coffer, called the cargo-box, which occupied a considerable portion of the hulk. Near the stern was an apology for a cabin, a straitened apartment six or eight feet in length, in which the captain and *patron*, or steersman, were generally quartered for the night. The roof of the 'cabin' was slightly elevated above the level of the deck, and on this eminence the helmsman was stationed. The barge was commonly provided with two masts."

Flint's "Recollections" furnish an exact and vivacious account of how navigation was conducted on the Ohio and Mississippi. He says: "You hear the boatmen extolling their powers in pushing a pole, and you learn the received opinion that a 'Kentuck' is the best man at a pole, and a Frenchman at the oar. A firm push of the iron-pointed pole on a fixed log is termed a 'reverend set.' You are told, when you embark, to bring your plunder aboard, and you hear about moving 'fernent' the stream; and you gradually become acquainted with a copious vocabulary of this sort. The manners of the boatmen are as strange as their language. Their peculiar way of life has given origin, not only to an appropriate dialect, but to new modes of enjoyment, riot and fighting. Almost every boat while it lies in harbor has one or more fiddles continually scraping aboard, to which you often see the boatmen dancing. There is no wonder that the way of life which the boatmen lead, in turn extremely indolent and extremely laborious, for days together requiring little or no effort and attended with no danger, and then on a sudden laborious and hazardous beyond Atlantic navigation, generally plentiful as it respects food and always so as it regards whisky, should prove irresistible to the young people who live near the banks of the river. The boats float by their dwellings on beautiful spring mornings, when the verdant forest, the mild, delicious temperature of the air, the delightful azure of the sky of this country, the fine bottom on the one hand and the romantic bluff on the other, the broad and smooth stream rolling calmly down the forest and floating the boat gently forward—all these circumstances harmonize in the excited youthful imagination. The boatmen are dancing to the violin on the deck of their boat. They scatter their wit among the girls on the shore who come down to the water's edge to see the pageant pass. The boat glides on until it disappears behind a point of wood. At this moment, perhaps, the bugle with which all the boatmen are provided strikes up its note in the distance over the waters. These scenes and these notes echoing from the bluffs of

the beautiful Ohio have a charm for the imagination; although I have heard a thousand times repeated, is even to me always new and always delightful."

This vivid and enthusiastic description recalls the melodious lines of Wm. O. Butler on "The Boat-horn," contributed to the Western Review, Lexington, Ky., in 1821:

"O, boatman! wind that horn again,
For never did the listening air,
Upon its lambent bosom bear
So wild, so soft, so sweet a strain!
What, though thy notes are sad and few,
By every simple boatman blown,
Yet is each pulse to nature true,
And melody in every tone.
How oft in boyhood's joyous days,
Unmindful of the lapsing hours,
I've loitered on my homeward way
By wild Ohio's bank of flowers;
While some lone boatman from the deck
Poured his soft numbers to the tide,
As if to charm from storm and wreck
The boat where all his fortunes ride!
Delighted Nature drank the sound,
Enchanted echo bore it round
In whispers soft and softer still,
From hill to plain and plain to hill,
Till e'en the thoughtless, frolic boy,
Elate with hope and wild with joy,
Who gamboled by the river side,
And sported with the fretting tide,
Feels something new pervade his breast,
Change his light step, repress his jest,
Bends o'er the flood his eager ear
To catch the sounds far off, yet dear—
Drinks the sweet draft, but knows not why
The tear of rapture fills his eye."

By the middle of November the convalescents were once again afloat, and, though the autumn season was so far advanced, the weather was mild and delightful. The children, standing on deck, gazed with pleasure on the passing scene. A flock of wild geese now and then sailed by, and sandhill cranes and pelicans could be seen stalking upon the white sandbars. The novelty of the varied

vegetation along the fertile shores afforded a theme for observation and astonishment. There were wild grapevines almost as thick as the body of a man. There were persimmon trees and clumps of pawpaw bushes. Clinging to the white bark of the sycamore were bunches of green mistletoe gemmed with pearl-like berries. Most impressive of all vegetable wonders were the gigantic sycamores stretching their weird, snowy arms far out over the water, far up into the sky.

Some of these magnificent trees were so large that in reading of them we are reminded of the Sequoia of the Sierras, or the giant trees of Australia. Flint mentions a sycamore near Marietta which measured fifteen and a half feet in diameter, and another on the Big Miami that was still larger. Judge Tucker, of Missouri, caused a section to be cut from the trunk of a hollow sycamore which he covered with a roof and fitted up with a stove and other furniture, and used for the purposes of a law office. It was commodious and comfortable.

Flint's admiration of these big trees will recall to some readers the entries which Dr. Cutler made in his diary descriptive of the immense trees which he observed at Marietta in 1788. One of them, a black walnut, near the Muskingum, was twenty-two feet in girth; and another, a sycamore, was forty feet around. The sycamore had fallen, the trunk was hollow and burnt to a thin shell. Cutler says: "Six horsemen could ride in abreast, and parade in the tree at the same time."

At Marietta the Salemites found themselves among old friends. The genial *pater familias*, writing home, said: "You can imagine the rapidity of discourse, the attempt of two or three to narrate their adventures at the same time, and the many pleasant circumstances attending the renewal of a long-suspended intercourse with congenial society." Flint had letters to General Putnam, the patriarch of the colony, whom he found in the midst of rural plenty in a commodious house surrounded by fruit trees of his own planting.

At the end of November the sojourner purchased a flat-

boat of forty tons burden, and departed from Marietta, with several passengers, besides his own family and another family consisting of a "fine, healthy-looking Kentuckian, with a young and pretty wife, two or three negro servants, and two small children." This Kentuckian had been for years a boatman on the Ohio and Mississippi; he had served in the war on the Canadian frontier, and was, upon the whole, a capital fellow, though he scandalized his clerical captain by terrific swearing, and nettled the New England children by telling exaggerated stories about Yankees who sold "pit-coal indigo and wooden nutmegs." The aggravating Kentuckian usually followed his anecdotes by a song, with the chorus:

> "They will put pine-tops in their whisky,
> And then they will call it gin."

In accordance with plans formed before leaving Salem, the Flints stopped at Cincinnati to spend the winter with relatives there. Having secured a house for his family, the missionary took occasion to familiarize himself with the town and the adjacent country. The society in and about Cincinnati seemed to him to be copied after the New England pattern. In one of his letters he remarks that the people "have the same desire for keeping up schools, for cultivating psalmody, for settling ministers and attending upon religious worship; and unfortunately the same disposition to dogmatize, to settle, not only their own faith, but that of their neighbor, and to stand resolutely, and dispute fiercely, for the slightest shade of difference of religious opinion." He noted that the ladies had formed a Bible and charitable society, and that the town had a character for seriousness, good order, and public spirit. Apologizing for the "bad taste visible in the literary productions of the region and time," he ascribes it to the forwardness of incompetent writers and speakers, and to an "unwarrantable disdain" that kept really refined and educated persons from displaying their powers in the newspapers, the pulpit, the bar, and the legislature.

At the residence of General Harrison, North Bend, Flint was received with great hospitality and politeness. The general kept an open table, which was loaded with plenty and free to all guests, like an old English board. The house was freely proffered for the convenience of public worship. Harrison's manner was ardent and vivacious. "He has," wrote his guest, "a copious fund of that eloquence which is fitted for the camp and for gaining partisans."

Another distinguished citizen that Flint became acquainted with at Cincinnati was Dr. Daniel Drake, who is spoken of as a "scientific physician, a respectable scholar and natural historian."

In March, 1816, Flint set off on horseback for a tour through Indiana and Kentucky, for the purpose of viewing the country and preaching to the people. Just west of Lawrenceburg, Indiana, he was surprised to fall in company with a huge bear, which, to his relief, liked him no better than he liked it, and sullenly trotted away. The stroke of the woodman's ax and the crash of falling trees were familiar sounds in the forest. Newly-built cabins were seen here and there in the clearings. The singing red-bird and the gay, green paroquet flew like winged colors in the spring sunshine.

The traveler visited the old French village of Vincennes, and then went to Vevay just in time to attend a meeting of the inhabitants called to decide on the location of a town-house, a market, and streets First, Second and Third.

Flint crossed the Ohio at Carrollton, and pursued his journey up the valley of the Kentucky, having for a traveling companion an educated young Suabian, who conversed agreeably about Europe and America. The large size and fine appearance of the Kentucky people impressed the visitor, as did also the general prosperity, opulence and elegance of the towns. The contrast between southern life and northern was striking, especially in those matters which were affected by slavery. Flint observed that hundreds of princely-looking young men

were living in indolent luxury. He was delighted with the hospitality with which he was received, and amused by frequent proposals to "swap horses."

A prejudice prevailed against Yankees, but every Kentuckian was enthusiastically devoted to his own state. The supreme excellence of the grand old commonwealth was illustrated by a story of a Methodist preacher, who, endeavoring to picture to his hearers the perfections of the world to come, capped the climax by saying: "In short, my brethren, to say all in one word, heaven is a Kentuck of a place!"

The Yankee minister delivered his message in many villages, the people assembling on a half-hour notice of the court-house bell, for "a preaching" was generally held at the court-house, there being few churches. The place of holding the service at Frankfort was in the capitol building, where a large and gaily-dressed audience assembled.

Flint had letters of introduction to the governor, but his excellency was not in town. After two days' stop at Frankfort, the itinerant took the road to Lexington, the "Athens of the West." This was decidedly the literary center of the state. The fashion in good society was to read the latest books and to discuss all subjects, "profane and sacred." Dr. Blythe was at that time president of Transylvania University. The college classes were engaged in the same studies as were pursued in the eastern colleges.

Henry Clay had just returned from Ghent, and was so much fatigued by company that Flint, with a nice sense of propriety, forebore to seek an interview. But he wrote thus of the great statesman: "It seems to be generally conceded that, as an orator, he received his diploma from nature. In the depth and sweetness of his voice, it is said he has no compeers; and, in the gracefulness of his enunciation and manner, few equals. Although he was not publicly educated, yet it is far from being true that he is not a scholar, and that he is not possessed of classical taste and discernment."

Flint lingered about Lexington until the middle of March, when the unfolding of the gooseberry leaves and the flowering of peach trees warned him it was time to make ready to continue his journey down the Ohio. Bidding adieu to the Athenians, he mounted his steed and returned, by way of Georgetown, North Bend, and General Harrison's, to Cincinnati.

There being but one steamboat, and that an unsafe one, at the Cincinnati wharf, Flint bought and fitted up a keel-boat about ninety feet long and of seventeen tons burden. The affectionate family had become so much attached to their Cincinnati friends that parting was an anguish similar to their Salem leave-taking. Their friends, who had secretly made many provisions for the comfort and convenience of the voyage, went down to the river shore, where the last good-byes were exchanged.

The family and some lady passengers being safely aboard, the "patron," or helmsman, pushed the keel from the bank, and away it floated on the sultry afternoon of April 12, 1816. If the hills and woods had been charming in November, what were they now in the glorious bloom and verdure of a forward spring? The chronicle says: "Nothing could exceed the grandeur of the vegetable kingdom on the banks of the broad and beautiful Ohio." The river was at flood height, and the strong current bore the boat swiftly on. But a transformation scene was soon witnessed.

After a lapse of two hours of ravishing enjoyment to the travelers, a thunder-storm gathered and burst furiously on the river. The ladies screamed, their gallant guardian busied himself dipping water from the boat's hold, the grim "patron," like another Palinurus, stood hopefully at the helm, undisturbed by the drenching rain, the buffeting wind, and the rolling thunder. The storm spent its rage, the sun shone out, the ladies recovered from fright, and the slender barque floated onward until evening, when the mansion of General Harrison was descried on its high hill. The boat was made fast to the shore and the passengers climbed the steeps and were

made welcome by the urbane hero of Tippecanoe and his lovely wife.

That night and the next day and night were spent pleasantly at Harrison's in talking with the general and listening to his children say lessons in geometry. The next day the voyagers went to Lawrenceburg, where they left their lady passengers. At this place Flint's daughter fell into the river, and was rescued from drowning by a "providential" stranger.

The last settlement they stopped at was Shawneetown, "an unpleasant looking village that had just emerged from an inundation." Here they made final arrangements for ascending the Mississippi, and engaged a complement of boatmen, perhaps ten or twelve.

On the 28th of April, their boat drifted from the comparatively clear waters of the Ohio to the turbid, milk-white surface of the Mississippi, which seemed the "'ultima thule'—a limit almost to the range of thought."

The few houses of Cairo were under water, and the inhabitants were quartered promiscuously in a large flat-boat, provided with liquor shops for the cheap accommodation of the men and women who desired to get drunk.

The gloomy feelings caused by the view of Cairo, and its debauched and miserable people, were dispelled as soon as the boat began to ascend the Mississippi. Neither the oar nor the pole could be used to advantage in propelling the craft against the sweeping current of the deep and muddy stream. Two new methods of locomotion were employed, viz., towing and "bush-whacking."

Tow-lines, or "cordelles," of great length were carried by every boat. One of these long ropes was used after the manner of the cable of a canal-boat, to pull the vessel up stream, not by horse power, but by the muscle of men. The "hands" would toil along the bank tugging at the cordelle. When they came to the mouth of a tributary, they either swam across, holding fast to the line, or used a yawl to carry the rope across. When they were im-

peded by a bluff, it was necessary to "warp" or cross the river to the low ground on the other side. The margin was so obstructed in many places that towing became impracticable. If such was the case, one end of the cordelle was made fast to some tree or "snag" far up stream, and the men standing on the deck would pull or with a windlass draw the boat toward the fixed point, while another line was carried still farther up stream and fastened.

The operation called "bush-whacking" was very simple, the whole art consisting in grasping the branches of trees and bushes that lined the water's edge, and pulling so as to force the boat forward while the "bush-whacker" trod from bow to stern on the long deck. The novelty of the up-river navigation, the charm of the scenery, the delightful air, the cheering sunshine, and the majestic view of the Father of Waters, pouring his flood betwixt wonderful shores, filled the enthusiastic and poetical Flint family with ecstacy. They were rapt and seemed to float as in a delicious dream.

The cotton-wood trees that waved in strange loveliness, the fluttering green paroquets that seemed to the children like flocks from paradise, the innumerable wild ducks and other game birds that rose in airy flights from the reeds, the herds of deer now and then seen bounding through the distant thickets—all united to captivate the senses and to excite the fancy. The pungent odor of the willow flowers, which the voyagers crushed in their palms as they grasped the overhanging boughs to aid the northward motion of their boat, raised in their minds mythological ideas of "nectar and ambrosia." Ten years after this delectable experience, Timothy Flint recalled it in these words: "Perhaps the first half-day that we passed in ascending the river, under every favorable omen, was the happiest period that we ever experienced as it regards mere physical enjoyment."

This exultant sensuous pleasure was followed by a natural reaction. The incessant, anxious, severe, and dangerous toil of struggling against the boiling current of the

Mississippi, beset with snags, sawyers, wreck-heaps, and rocks, exhausted the physical energies and depressed the spirits. Besides, every thing was rude, wild, savage, untouched by civilization. The boat crept up the stream, or was forced up painfully, about twelve miles a day. At night all hands encamped, at some favorable spot on shore, built their camp-fires, cooked supper, and prepared couches for the night's welcome repose. Rations of whisky were distributed among the boatmen, who then sat down under some huge tree and told tales of their adventures.

Some had been hunters on the Missouri; some had explored the Mississippi above the Falls of St. Anthony; others knew the region of the great lakes and Canada; others had wandered far south, on the Red river and on the lagoons near the Gulf of Mexico. They had stories to tell of river and forest, of war and the hunt, of Spaniard and Frenchman. "Sometimes," says Flint, "we had details of their dusky loves, that no feature of romance might be wanting."

The rough boatmen who, after emboldening themselves with strong drink, regaled their gentle auditors with stories of personal deeds as wonderful as the labors of Hercules, were not the only nondescript characters that haunted river and shore. Shawnee Indians, of panther-like aspect, prowled about the night encampment to the terror of Mrs. Flint and her daughter. Over-familiar desperadoes, in outlandish attire, armed with dirks, and smelling desperately of bad liquors, invaded the camp, and exchanged slang and profanity with the boatmen. Not unfrequently some lawless wretch, minus one eye, was pointed out to Flint as a victim of the "gouger's" thumb. But the apprehensive clergyman was assured that no "gentleman" was in danger of being gouged.

The keel-boat, after many hairbreadth escapes from wreck and foundering, at length reached the village of Ste. Genevieve, a place older than Philadelphia. It was a pleasant town, the seat of government, and had a weekly newspaper. The houses were built of mud and white-washed. The French language and the Catholic religion

held sway there. The housetops and the gate-posts were surmounted by wooden crosses. The family landed at Ste. Genevieve and were entertained hospitably by the amiable and courteous people.

From Ste. Genevieve the Flints proceeded to St. Louis, where they arrived on the 24th of May, 1816. From St. Louis as a center of operations, Flint made many journeys in the capacity of missionary, to the various French and American settlements in Missouri and Illinois. Among the places visited were Florissant, Bellefontaine, Bonhomme, and Carondelet. He was accompanied in some of his excursions by a brother missionary from Connecticut, whose name is not given. Flint was the first Protestant clergyman who administered the ordinance of communion in St. Louis.

After four months of sojourn at St. Louis, Flint removed with his family to St. Charles, on the north bank of the Missouri, forty miles above its mouth. Here, on the 10th day of September, the family arrived, and took apartments in the house of Madame Duquette, a French widow, with whom they resided pleasantly for two years. He afterward settled on a small farm below St. Charles, on the prairie called "The Mamelle." The whole period of residence in Missouri was about five years. These were years of indefatigable labor, of privation, sickness, and hardship, relieved, however, by much that was exhilarating and profitable to the soul. The devout and earnest preacher found much to distress him in his efforts to propagate the spirit, rather than the letter of the benign religion of "love to God and love to man." He discovered to his disappointment that the professed followers of Christ were in rivalry and at bitter war about mere forms and dogmas, even as were "the doctors and the schools of Andover and Princeton." He deplored the absence of the "religion of the heart" from the sectarians of the frontier, and exclaimed: "Happy, and thrice happy, in my judgment, if men laid less stress upon knowledge and more upon experimental acquaintance with the power of religion." He tells his cousin, in familiar confidence: "I

could easily fill a volume with the details of trials, perplexities, and sufferings. I have labored much, not in the vain hope of obtaining either much compensation or much fame. Should I describe all that I was called to endure from sickness, opposition, and privation, and from causes unnecessary to be named, the most sober account would seem like the fiction of romance." In the same letter he writes with touching fervor: "I had my hours when debility, and concern for my family, and trials and opposition all vanished, and I saw nothing but God and eternity."

We will not follow this devoted family through the years of vicissitude on the Missouri. Timothy Flint ground all his observations and experience into that brilliant paint with which he afterward depicted western life in his writings. He saw thousands of Indians, of various tribes, and he has given from the life, the most exact and graphic description of these strange people that can be found in literature, his delineations being far more realistic than those of Cooper. At St. Louis he was formally introduced to the Cherokee chief, Richard Justice, with his wives and thirty children. He was also acquainted with the celebrated Spaniard, Manuel Lisa, the king of fur traders, of whom much is said in Irving's "Astoria."

Having received an urgent call to the Lower Mississippi region, and half hoping to overtake fleeting health by a change of climate, the Flints again took boat and started for Post Arkansas, May 5, 1819. This destination was reached after a tedious and miserable voyage of many days. The post, situated far up the Arkansas, was the seat of government of the territory, then newly formed, with a population of about ten thousand. A dreadful summer was spent there; what with mosquitoes, Spaniards, Indians, French, swamps, alligators and ague, the zealous missionary well nigh lost his customary equinimity. Every Sabbath he preached in the court-house to a congregation which he addressed in the French language. Most of his auditors came costumed for the ball-room, to which they went as soon as the service ended. There was

a billiard-room near by the court-house, and many gentlemen bestowed their attention, alternately, upon the truths of the Bible and the pleasure of the cue. It was not to be wondered at that the preacher thought preaching, under these circumstances, a "heart-wearing agony."

When the summer heats prevailed, the whole family, excepting the father, were taken down with fever. As soon as they were able to move, they took boat, floating down the Arkansas to the Mississippi in twelve days. Without the assistance of a single boatman, Flint and his sons undertook the enormous task of navigating a flat-boat against the current of the Mississippi toward their former home at St. Charles, four hundred miles to the north. And now we have come, in the devious course of our narrative, to the saddest and most desolate episode in the history of this much-suffering family. Let us read it in the simple and exquisitely pathetic words of Flint himself:

"We arrived opposite to the second Chickasaw Bluff on the 26th of November. The country on the shore receives and deserves the emphatic name of 'wilderness.' At 10 in the morning we perceived indications of a severe approaching storm. The air was oppressively sultry. Brassy clouds were visible upon all quarters of the sky. Distant thunder was heard. We were upon a wide sand-bar, far from any house. Opposite to us was a vast cypress swamp. At this period, and in this place, Mrs. F. was taken in travail. My children, wrapped in blankets, laid themselves down on the sand-bar. I secured the boat in every way possible against the danger of being driven by the storm into the river. At 11 the storm burst upon us in all its fury. Mrs. F. had been salivated during her fever, and had not yet been able to leave her couch. I was alone with her in this dreadful situation. Hail and wind and thunder and rain in torrents poured upon us. I was in terror lest the wind would drive my boat, notwithstanding all her fastenings, into the river. No imagination can reach what I endured. The only alleviating circumstance was her perfect tranquillity. She

knew that the hour of sorrow, and expected that of death was come. She was so perfectly calm, spoke with such tranquil assurance about the future and about the dear ones that were at this moment 'biding the pelting of the pitiless storm' on the sand-bar, that I became calm myself. A little after 12 the wind burst in the roof of my boat, and let in the glare of the lightning and the torrents of rain upon my poor wife. I could really have expostulated with the elements in the language of poor old Lear. I had wrapped my wife in blankets, ready to be carried to the shelter of the forest in case of the driving of my boat into the river. About 4 the fury of the storm began to subside. At 5 the sun in his descending glory burst from the dark masses of the receding clouds.

"At 11 in the evening Mrs. F. was safely delivered of a female infant, and, notwithstanding all, did well; the babe, from preceding circumstances, was feeble and sickly, and I saw could not survive. At midnight we had raised a blazing fire. The children came into the boat, supper was prepared, and we surely must have been ungrateful not to have sung a hymn of deliverance. There can be but one trial more for me that can surpass the agony of that day, and there can never be on this earth a happier period than those midnight hours. The babe staid with us but two days and a half and expired. The children, poor things, laid it deeply to heart, and raised a loud lament. We were, as I have remarked, far away from all human aid and sympathy, and left alone with God. We deposited the body of our lost babe—laid in a small trunk for a coffin, in a grave amid the rushes, there to await the resurrection of the dead. The grave is on a high bank opposite to the second Chickasaw Bluff, and I have since passed the rude memorial which we raised on the spot; and I passed it carrying to you my miserable and exhausted frame, with little hope of its renovation, and in the hourly expectation of depositing my bones on the banks of the Mississippi. But enough and too much of all this."

With aching hearts the Flint family took leave of the

little grave and resumed their boat. Fortunately obtaining the assistance of two hands, they proceeded as far north as New Madrid, where they arrived about the middle of December, 1819. Feeble from sickness and dejected by grief, they were induced to spend the winter at the village. They were kindly received in the family of an excellent old lady, Mrs. Gray, a woman of seventy winters, who had witnessed the progress of the settlement of New Madrid from its beginning. Mrs. Gray possessed a library, was a classic scholar, who read Plato, and was familiar with the history of the ancients. Her daughter was also an accomplished woman, who had "lived in the great world in Natchez and New Orleans, in the family of Mr. Derbigny, and in the families of two of the greater commandants, and spoke and read French as well as English."

These agreeable ladies communicated to Mr. Flint a very clear and complete account of the great earthquake, the devastation of which they had witnessed. Flint recorded the facts, and his description is the best one extant of the noted convulsions, which had not entirely ceased at the date of his visit to New Madrid. He says impressively: "In the midst of some of our conversations, prolonged over the winter fire, we were not unfrequently interrupted for a moment by the distant and hollow thunder of the approaching earthquake. An awe, a slight paleness passed over every countenance. The narrative was suspended for a moment, and resumed."

When the winter was spent the Flints removed to Cape Girardeau, where they remained for more than a year, among rough and uncongenial people, to whom they formed no attachments, and from whom they received nothing valuable except the proverbial staple—experience. Flint's sense of propriety was shocked by the prevalence of so-called religious "spasms, cries, fallings, and faintings," at places of public worship, and he could hardly tolerate a species of worship called the "*holy laugh*," in which certain highly excited converts were wont to indulge.

In the autumn of 1820 the family were glad to return

to the little farm on the "Mamelle," or the "Point," below St. Charles. No sooner had they arrived than five of the family, including Mr. and Mrs. Flint, were prostrated with a bilious fever. They were utterly helpless, and were quartered in different houses by benevolent neighbors. The fever lasted forty days, and was followed by months of fever and ague. Flint endured seventy-seven shakes from this pleasant visitor, who walketh invisible by noonday. Saturated with Peruvian bark, calomel, and despondency, they now turned their thoughts toward their New England home. It was decided to descend the Mississippi to New Orleans, and thence to embark by ship for Salem. Accordingly, Flint, joining with Mr. Postell, of St. Charles, built a flat-boat, the family took passage October 4, 1822, and were carried to the great metropolis of the South as rapidly as the current could bear them.

Upon arriving in New Orleans, Flint and his family had improved in health, and he was induced to relinquish the purpose of going home, and to take charge of a seminary at Covington, and to preach for a season at that place and the neighboring village of Madisonville. Crossing Lake Pontchartrain in March, 1823, he took up his residence in Covington, and entered upon the discharge of his double duty as teacher and preacher. Health failed, as usual, and he returned to New Orleans in the autumn. During the winter he delivered a course of popular lectures in that city. About this time the Rev. Mr. Hall, principal of the Seminary of Rapide, at Alexandria, La., died, and Flint was importuned to occupy the vacant position. Consenting, he went with his wife and children, by boat, to the new destination, on the west bank of Red river, one hundred and fifty miles above the mouth. The Seminary or College of Rapide was conducted in a large, ugly building, upon which much money had been spent. The school was numerous, many students boarding with the principal. The town of Alexandria was new, and the state of literary culture very low. There were doctors, lawyers, and editors enough, and as many as three "Presbyterian ministers had already laid their ashes" in the village graveyard.

Flint did not take this state of mortuary facts as a personal suggestion, but went about his labors—serene optimist that he was—and sucked all the honey he could draw from the weeds of tribulation and sacrifice. The Alexandrians were amiable. (Timothy seems never to have encountered other than amiable people in his wanderings; French, Spanish, Dutch, German, English, half-breeds, full-blood savages—all were amiable to him. With equal hospitality of heart he met Yankee traders and Kentucky boatmen, Canadian voyageurs and Texas rangers.) The creole planters on the Red river lived in luxurious elegance. All the work was done by black slaves, and the indolent gentlemen and ladies had no care except to plan easy pleasures. The women, beautiful and fascinating, intoxicated themselves by reading romance. The men were infatuated with the sport called "fire-hunting"—shooting deer by the glare of a flambeau in the dark woods, after the game had been started by dogs wearing bells.

Both out-of-door rides with hunters and in-door novel reading with the creole mesdames failed to invigorate the health of the genial missionary. In the forlorn hope of becoming robust by "roughing it" in the saddle, he made a tour, in company with Judge Ballard, to "Cantonment Jessup," a military post within fifteen miles of the Sabine river, the station farthest to the south-west of any then in the United States. The post was commanded by Colonel Many. The journey was full of incident, and furnished much of the material for the novel, "Francis Berrian," but the exertion was too great for poor Flint's exhausted body. By the time he returned as far as Natchitoches, he was unable to sit upon his horse, so he took steamboat and descended the Red river to Alexandria. The strong probability that, unless he left the place, he might soon add a fourth to the three graves of Presbyterian preachers, led his family and physician to insist that he should make all possible haste to depart for his New England home, twenty-five hundred miles to the north-east. Accordingly, on an April day, in 1825, he bade his pupils farewell in the

court-yard, parted from wife and daughter at the steps, and was conducted by his sons down to the steamboat. After kissing his little boy, a four-year-old lad, with a military hat and a tin sword, the sick man entered the steamer, took his berth, heard the parting gun boom the signal for departure, and was on his way to Natchez. At Natchez he took passage on the fine steamer Grecian, for Louisville. His journal records that: "On the 11th, we passed the place where our babe lies buried, and at midnight, on the 14th, we arrived at Louisville." Thence, on board the steamer Pike, he proceeded to Cincinnati, where he stopped two days with friends, and received "medicine and counsel" from Dr. Drake. From Cincinnati he went by boat to Wheeling, and there took stage-coach for Baltimore, over the National road.

Treating of this celebrated old route of travel, he said: "We have fine taverns and good entertainment all the way over the mountains. We were driven down the most considerable of them, a distance of between four and five miles, at a furious rate, and at midnight, and just on the verge of precipices that it would be fearful to look down upon at mid-day." The longest journey has an end; the wanderer reached Salem, more dead than alive. A few weeks' rest, and a summer jaunt up the Hudson, with his most congenial companion, cousin James, gave him a fresh lease of life and hope. He was persuaded by his friends, Peabody and Dr. Flint, to write for publication an account of his travels and observations. This he was easily induced to undertake. The work of preparing the manuscript was commenced at Salem, and completed at Cincinnati, on September 25, 1825.

Flint's "Recollections of the Last Ten Years in the Valley of the Mississippi" was published in Boston by Cummings, Hillard & Co., in the spring of 1826. The volume gives, with much detail, the full history of the events slightly sketched in the foregoing pages. In the synopsis free use has been made of Flint's phrasing, and direct quotations have been given, for the double purpose of preserving important facts and illustrating the style of the

volume. Never was a more delightful book of the kind written. A more original book it would be impossible to conceive of. In fact, it seems not to be a book, but a familiar talk—a picture from nature; a man revealing himself to the sympathetic world with unconscious and complete candor, confidence and enthusiasm. He tells the reader that he has not consulted a book on his subject from the beginning to the end of his composition.

Flint's "Recollections" met with immediate success, and was reprinted in London, and translated into French in Paris, though it never has been reproduced in the United States. The popularity of the work decided the author to make literature his vocation.

In the autumn of 1825, Flint's wife and four children joined him at Cincinnati, where the family remained for the next seven or eight years.

One of his sons, E. H. Flint, opened a bookstore on the corner of Fifth and Walnut streets, which was removed to 160 Main street, "nearly opposite the Presbyterian Church." An elder son, Micah P. Flint, who had studied law, and had been admitted to the bar at Alexandria, won a fair reputation as a poet. Several of his maiden efforts in verse were printed in his father's "Recollections," and were afterward, in 1826, issued in a thin volume, under the title, "The Hunter, and Other Poems." Micah Flint died in 1830, aged twenty-three.

In July, 1826, Timothy Flint took out the copyright of his second book, the lively and entertaining novel, "Francis Berrian, or the Mexican Patriot," issued in two volumes, from Boston. This is dedicated to Judge Henry S. Ballard, the gentleman with whom the author made the tour to the Sabine country. It is a romantic story, founded on the fortunes of Iturbide, in the Mexican revolution. The hero, Berrian, is a dashing Yankee, who has many startling adventures with Comanche Indians, Spanish hidalgos, and lovely señoras. Literary judges praise the scenic descriptions of this novel very highly, but criticise its dramatic qualities and character painting. It is certainly not a tale of the Henry James

type; the author has more "to tell" than "to say." Mrs. Trollope placed Flint first among the American writers of his time. She says: "Several American novels were brought me. Mr. Flint's 'Francis Berrian' is excellent; a little wild and romantic, but containing scenes of first-rate interest and pathos." On another page she says: "Mr. Flint's 'Francis Berrian' is delightful. There is a vigor and freshness in his writing that is exactly in accordance with what one looks for in the literature of a new country; and yet, strange to say, it is exactly what is most wanting in that of America."

"Francis Berrian" has long been out of print, and has become exceedingly rare. Mr. U. P. James, the western publisher and book-dealer, when asked about the volume, said: "It always sells for a high price, but it is long since I saw a copy."

It is incorrectly stated in "Allibone's Dictionary," "Duyckink's American Literature," and similar works, that Timothy Flint began the publication of "The Western Magazine and Review" in 1834. The fact is that the first number of this pioneer literary journal was issued in May, 1827.[1] The "Geography and History of the Mississippi Valley" appeared in the autumn of the same year in two large volumes from the press of E. H. Flint. This useful work rapidly passed through numerous large editions. Many passages from the "Recollections" are incorporated in it. The peculiar criticism was made on this book that it is too interesting to be useful!—the reader searching for geographical or historical facts in its pages is carried away from his object by the absorbing narrative or brilliant description.

Citizens of Cincinnati can hardly fail to take an interest in Flint's account, published in the Review, February, 1830, of the locally celebrated historical picture, "Gen. Lafayette's Landing and Reception at Cincinnati," painted by August Jean Hervieu in 1829.

Hervieu was a French artist, born near Paris in 1794.

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[1] See Chapter III, page 70.

His father, who held the rank of colonel in Napoleon's army, was taken prisoner at Moscow, and he died in captivity. Jean was a pupil of M. Gitodet and of M. Gros. Becoming involved in political disturbances, he was tried by the government and was condemned to pay a fine of 15,000 francs and to be imprisoned for five years. But he escaped to England, where, under the patronage of Sir Thomas Lawrence, of the Royal Academy, he practiced his art at Somerset House, London. A study of his representing the battle of Thermopylæ, which he sent to France, procured for him a medal and a membership in the Royal Academy of Lisle. In the year 1829 Hervieu sailed for New Orleans, on the same vessel that brought Miss Frances Wright, on her second trip to America, from her French home in the house of Lafayette. Miss Wright lingered in the South, but the artist proceeded at once to the "Paris of America," though the city was then described by the less pleasing name of "Porkopolis."

The man of pigments was most cordially received by the virtuosi of Cincinnati, and, within a very short time after his arrival, he began to paint what his friend Mrs. Trollope calls "a noble historical picture of the landing of General Lafayette at Cincinnati." The painting is thus described by Mr. Flint:

"Its dimensions are sixteen feet by twelve. The popular group is composed of Lafayette and the superior officers who crossed the river with him, and who are advancing to meet Mr. Morrow, governor of Ohio. Amiability sits embodied in the countenance of this man, who is affectionately grasping his hand. Among the persons of his suite are Generals Harrison, Lytle, and Desha, governor of Kentucky. Near them are the Hon. Judge Burnet and Messrs. Greene and Fletcher, Esqrs., persons deputed by the city to tender its welcome. By them is Major Larrabee, an officer who distinguished himself at Tippecanoe, and who lost an arm in the service. Near him are the late lamented Mr. Madeira and J. Lytle, captain of the Hussars. A little below, in the second group, are the governor's two aides-de-camp, Colonels

Pendleton and King, and with them Major Ruffin, the sheriff. The young gentleman in the military costume of West Point, was introduced with a view to perpetuate the recollections of the nation's guest, who could never forget the reception given him by the pupils of that military school. In the same group are Messrs. Foster, Dorfeuille, Foote, P. Symmes, a man of letters; Rev. Oliver Spencer, and Dr. Drake. Two veterans of the Revolution, the first the late Mr. Wyeth, formerly mentioned in this journal as one who aided in throwing the tea overboard in Boston harbor, venerable by his age, his mild countenance, his gray hairs, and the recollections associated with his person; and the other an old negro servant in livery, who belonged to the suite of General Washington, are striking figures in the crowd. This group terminates with H. Powers, a young sculptor of the city, of the highest promise. He has given a strikingly faithful bust of the painter, and the latter has signalized his gratitude, and friendship, and respect for his talent by giving the sculptor a conspicuous place in his painting. The circumstance, along with the introduction of Mr. Flint and Rev. Mr. Pierpont, who were not actually present at the landing, may, perhaps, suggest the objection of anachronism, and violation of historical fidelity. The most formidable difficulty of the artist was this cramping limitation to fact. One of the gentlemen, by his recent visit to this city, in which he received such a cordial welcome, had in some sense identified himself with us; and as he is well and generally known in the Atlantic country, where this picture will be seen, it seems to us a fitting compliment to him. We imagine, that any objection in regard to the presence of the other two, will be generally put to the account of hypercriticism. We allow unlimited range to poetry. Surely the sister art may have some indulgence to episode; especially if any connection exists between it and the leading idea.

"But to return to the picture. Among the hundred astonishing incidents that occurred to Lafayette in his journey through our Union, it happened that the same

woman mingled with the multitude in this welcome, who gave the nation's guest, as he came out of the prison of Olmutz, a three-franc piece and a cup of milk. Here was the good German women no longer in Germany, but at the landing in Cincinnati. General Lafayette every-where showed that such touching remembrances never escaped him. The artist has happily seized upon the circumstances, and has made the eagerness of the good woman conspicuous by presenting her in her German costume.

"The lines are formed by companies of infantry from the city. They were commanded by three Colonels, McFarland, Borden, and Ferris. Near them are Daniel Gano and Davis B. Lawler, Esqrs. More to the left of the painting is the marshal of the day, Colonel Carr, and his aid, W. D. Jones. The group in this direction terminates with the fancy figures of which we have spoken, together with a number of young girls running with flowers toward the person who is the center of all thoughts for that day."

This picture was long on exhibition in the art gallery of Mrs. Trollope's Bazaar, where it attracted universal attention. According to a writer in the Cincinnati Enquirer, it was "finally taken to Liverpool, and locked up in the English Custom-house until the tariff should be paid. There it remained until a Cincinnati book-seller wrote to the custom-house officials, who answered that they were unable to find it." Flint's allusion to "H. Powers" and the mutual admiration existing between him and Hervieu recalls that the latter lent his brush to enhance the lurid horrors of the "Infernal Regions," the waxen demons of which were created by Powers, as I have narrated in the chapter on Daniel Drake. Hervieu painted an excellent portrait of Robert Owen, which is still preserved in the rooms of the Ohio Historical Society. It is related in Mrs. Trollope's satirical pages that a German gentleman who had projected a chartered academy of fine arts in Cincinnati, engaged Hervieu to join in conducting a drawing school, agreeing to pay him a salary of $500 a year. The Frenchman conceived that good

order and regular hours were necessary to the success of the boys and girls who sought instruction, and he therefore drew up a set of rules. Mrs. Trollope tells us that "when he showed them to his colleague, he shook his head and said, 'Very goot, very goot in Europe, but America boys and gals vill not bear it; dey will do just vat dey please; suur, dey vill all go avay next day.' 'And you will not enforce these regulations, *si nécessairès*, monsieur!' 'O lor! not for de vorld.' '*Eh bien*, monsieur, I must leave the young republicans to your management.'"

In this connection it will be fitting to tell something about Mrs. Trollope and her doings in Cincinnati. The first volume of her notorious book, "Domestic Manners of the Americans," is devoted almost wholly to the relation of her experience in the Ohio Valley. She arrived at Cincinnati, from New Orleans, February 10, 1828, and spent two years in the town, leaving in the beginning of March, 1830. Her descriptions of the persons, places, and events she saw have been censured far more than they deserve, and she herself has been abused in print, more severely and less justly, than she ever abused the Americans. Mrs. Trollope came to America accompanied by a son and two daughters, with the intention of locating in business her son Henry; and, hearing that Cincinnati was the most promising place for a young man to settle in, she sought that city, designing to "fix our son there," as she expressed it, and to "continue with him till he should feel himself sufficiently established."

Thomas Adolphus Trollope, who, accompanying his father, paid a visit to Cincinnati in 1830, gives reminiscences of the sojourn in his book, "What I Remember," published in 1888. He says:

"We found my mother and two sisters and brother Henry well, and established in a roomy, bright-looking house, built of wood, and all white with the exception of the green Venetian blinds. It stood in its own "grounds," but these grounds consisted of a large field, uncultivated save for a few potatoes in one corner of it; and the whole

appearance of the place was made unkempt-looking—not squalid, because every thing was too new and clean-look- for that—by uncompleted essays toward the making of a road from the entrance gate to the house, and by frag- ments of boarding and timber, which it had apparently been worth no one's while to collect after the building of the house was completed. With all this there was an air of roominess and brightness which seemed to me very pleasant. The house was some five or ten minute's walk from what might be considered the commencement of the town, but it is no doubt by this time, if it still stands at all, more nearly in the center of it.

"My father and I remained between five and six months at Cincinnati, and my remembrances of the time are pleasant ones. In the way of amusement, to the best of my recollection, there was not much besides rambling over the country with my brother, the old companion of those London rambles which seemed to me then almost as far off in the dim past as they do now. But we were free, tied to no bounds, and very slightly to any hours. And I enjoyed those rambles immensely. I do not remember that the country about Cincinnati struck me as especially interesting or beautiful, and the Ohio, *la belle rivière*, dis- tinctly disappointed me. But it was a new world, and every object, whether animate or inanimate, was for us full of interest."

The house occupied by the Trollopes was one owned by Daniel Gano, and was called Gano Lodge, situated near Howard's woods.

If one may rely upon the recollection of the famous old musician, Jose Tosso, the young man Henry was not easy to "fix." Tosso remembered him as a gay fellow who spoke seven languages, was the "Invisible Lady" in Dor- feuille's "Museum," and played the part of Falstaff in "The Merry Wives of Windsor" under the influence of too much wine, and with a small feather-bed to magnify his rotundity.

"One night," related Tosso, "Mrs. Trollope gave a party to about a hundred guests, and a handsome one it was.

First we had 'Les Deux Amis' in French, and then 'The Merry Wives of Windsor.' The 'Deux Amis' went off very well. Mrs. Trollope spoke excellent French. So did Dr. Price, Mr. Morgan Neville, Mrs. Ameling, and Henry Trollope. But when the 'Merry Wives' came on, Falstaff's good, round belly was found to be lined with sack instead of capon, and the play was incredibly funny, for he was very drunk, and had a small feather-bed tucked under his waistcoat. 'How was the music?' Fine. I played first violin; Morgan Neville, second fiddle, and John Douglass, 'cello. After the play came supper, and then the dancing till daylight." [1]

Probably it was to utilize the energy of this jolly roysterer that their mother invested and lost her money by erecting and furnishing what she called the "Bazaar," but which came to be known, in the contemptuous phrase of popular judgment, as "Trollope's Folly." There is a good deal of romance, poetry, and pathos associated with this same quaint and curious arabesque, Egyptesque, oriental, Gothic, bizarre Bazaar. Marvelous it rose, hard by the Beautiful River, with balconies looking out toward the Kentucky hills. Surprising it stood, on the very slope where the palisades of old Fort Washington used to stand. It was a large building, with an elegant front of native limestone, with a spacious and stylish coffee-house and bar in the basement, and a ball-room in the third story. The second story was devoted to the sale of useful and fanciful articles of dress, furniture, and ornaments. There were to be had jewelry, pottery, statuettes, pictures, laces, and a hundred articles of taste and *virtu*, imported from the Old World. The room was sixty feet long, adorned by two rows of white columns, and at the rear was a delightful recess or saloon, in which customers were served with oysters, ices, and sherbets. The ceilings and panels of the Bazaar were frescoed with classic designs by the versatile and obliging Hervieu. The spacious and magnificent ball-room was the pride of the Queen City. Long

[1] From an interview with Tosso, published in the Cincinnati Gazette.

after Mrs. Trollope sailed homeward across the sea, with the unmanageable boys who were destined to become authors, the beaux and belles of Cincinnati continued to resort to the gay dances held at "Trollope's Folly." There twinkled and flared, so tradition says, the first gas-lights that ever shone within a Cincinnati edifice. There the magic violin of Jose Tosso dignified the quadrille without degrading musical art. The lights are out; the dancers have danced their last dance. The old musician has gone to sleep, and the violin is mute. Another building, the Lorraine, usurps the spot where stood the house of pleasure in which waltzed and whispered the dancers of sixty years ago, and Trollope's Folly has become only a name and a dream.

Here let be recorded a few sentences to the loving memory of old Jose Tosso, "*maître de musique*," courtly gentleman, and hero of much romance. Though he wrote no book, he himself was a living poem and novel. The son of an Italian father and a French mother, he was born in the city of Mexico in 1802. He died in Covington, Ky., in 1887. After receiving a fine musical education in the Paris Conservatoire, he returned to America in 1816. He married a "black-eyed girl" at Louisville, and came to Cincinnati to live in the year 1827. "The Cincinnati Chronicle and Literary Gazette" of April 24, 1830, contains a long advertisement announcing the opening of an Academy of Music and Dancing in the Ball-room of the Bazaar, by Messrs. Tosso and Pius, in which we read that "Mr. Tosso trusts that his residence of three years in this city has acquired for him the good feelings and confidence of its citizens. As Mr. Pius has but lately arrived in Cincinnati, he begs leave to publish one or two certificates, and offer for reference Colonel Piatt, Mr. Carneal, Mr. McCandless, and Mr. Neville." Mr. Tosso certainly possessed the "good feeling and confidence" of every body, from the Marquis De La Fayette down to the humblest "supe" of the Columbia Street Theater, where Tosso led the orchestra. Who has not heard of his most divert-

ing musical monologue and medley, "The Arkansaw Traveler?"

Before dismissing Frances Trollope from our narrative, let us read the generous and peculiar tribute she pays to the man who is the chief subject of this rambling sketch. She wrote as follows: "The most agreeable acquaintance I made in Cincinnati, and indeed one of the most talented men I ever met, was Mr. Flint, the author of several extremely clever volumes, and the editor of the Western Monthly Review. His conversational powers are of the highest order; he is the only person I remember to have known with first-rate powers of satire, and even of sarcasm, whose kindness of nature and of manner remained perfectly uninjured. In some of his critical notices there is a strength and keenness second to nothing of the kind I have ever read. He is a warm patriot, and so true-hearted an American that we could not always be of the same opinion on all the subjects we discussed; but whether it were the force and brilliancy of his language, his genuine and manly sincerity of feeling, or his bland and gentleman-like manner that beguiled me I know not, but certainly he is the only American I ever listened to whose unqualified praise of his country did not appear to me somewhat overstrained and ridiculous."

Flint, having entered upon a literary career, produced many books—too many—and all within a period of eight years. Mr. Gallagher, who knew him well and admired him, said: "He writes as he talks—rapidly, eloquently, poetically, carelessly." About three-fourths of the contents of the Western Review were supplied by him. Yet he found time, or rather managed without the aid of time, to complete and publish three novels within three years. These were "Arthur Clenning," "George Mason, the Young Backwoodsman," and "The Shoshone Valley." The Review was discontinued in 1830, and the editor proposed to publish in its stead a quarterly, which should comprise two volumes annually, of at least a thousand pages each. This promised quarterly never appeared, but the demand for a literary journal was soon supplied by

James Hall, who, in January, 1833, started the Western Monthly Magazine in Cincinnati.

Flint, whose novels were histories and whose histories were novels, easily turned his attention from the tribes of the Shoshone Valley to the tribes of the Mississippi Valley, and wrote his pleasant short history of the "Indian Wars of the West." In the same year, 1833, was published his "Lectures upon Natural History, Geology, Chemistry, the Application of Steam and Interesting Discoveries in the Arts." This curious book, an *omnium gatherum* from many sources, but chiefly from Aimé Martin's "Lettres à Sophie," and other French authorities, was intended to supply young men and women with a general education supplementary to their school training. It touches upon every subject from the starry heavens to Prussian blue, from the deluge to vaccination, from agriculture to the selection of books and the ritual of worship.

At the time in which this volume came out, the author was every-where recognized as a leading writer, and he was enjoying the praise and suffering the detraction incident to reputation. Though a popular favorite with readers, he was frequently criticised with severity by reviewers for his unhappy choice of topics, and for his obvious faults of style. But his literary standing was so good that when, in 1833, Charles Fenno Hoffman retired from the editorship of the Knickerbocker Magazine, Flint was solicited to take the place. The Knickerbocker was originated in 1832 in New York. Flint assumed editorial charge October, 1833, having previously contributed to the new magazine articles on "Phrenology" and on "Obstacles to American Literature." The salutatory remarks in which he presents his literary views to the public contain some suggestive sentences. He says:

"In proffering the customary editorial courtesies to brother editors, and in bearing my earnest testimony against the correctness of a prevalent opinion in the editorial creed, begotten in ignorance and born in politics, that malignity is inspiration, untiring volubility eloquence,

abuse wit, and victory the last word, I distinctly affirm that I am not conscious of having ever in my life been the intentional aggressor in assailing the writings or disturbing the feelings of any writer before the public. My sympathies, on the contrary, have all been with those ill-fated and ill-paid beings whose hard destiny it is to grind and make sport for the Phillistines."

Flint's constitution, always feeble, gave way under the strain of added cares. In order to save his shattered life, he gave up his editorial task, and went back to his former sub-tropical home, with his creole friends, at Alexandria, away down on the Red river, in Louisiana. Though a confirmed invalid, he did not intermit his customary employments. Aided by his daughter, he continued to write for the press. He translated and published two French books, "The Art of Happiness," by Droz, and "Celibacy Vanquished, or the Old Bachelor Reclaimed." These were followed by a little volume, over whose charmed pages thousands of western boys have pored, as they sat by the winter fire, "The First White Man of the West, or the Life and Exploits of Colonel Daniel Boone."

The book has much of the freshness and fascinating realism, much of the unliterary familiarity and colloquial directness, which made the "Recollections" so popular.

Almost the last product of Timothy Flint's prolific pen was a series of articles on American literature, contributed in 1835 to the London Athenæum.

Scant is the record of Flint's life in his last few and evil years. Meekly he bore the pain of disease, and patiently he suffered woe which bodily weakness entails. Life is sweet; love fights against death. The very sunshine and the balmy air of flowery Louisiana were stealing away the little remaining vigor of the invalid. He was now an old man. "Let me go once more to the North: let me go to Salem." Wife and daughter remained at Alexandria; the father, accompanied by his youngest son, James, took passage on a steamboat and started on his last earthly journey. It was at the beginning of the month of May, 1840. Down to the Red

river's mouth, up the Mississippi to Natchez, the passengers are carried in safety. They take temporary lodging at Natchez in the Steamboat Hotel, kept by a Mr. Alexander. At one o'clock on the sultry afternoon of Thursday, May 7, a furious tornado sweeps along the river, whirls the shipping to destruction, tears the city. "Never, never, never was there such desolation and ruin," was the word of the Natchez Courier next day. The loss of property was immense, and not fewer than four hundred people were killed. From the ruins of the Steamboat Hotel many dead bodies were dug, and the living body of the landlord's wife, with two lifeless children in her arms. The Natchez Free Trader mentioned that among those who were taken out alive were "Timothy Flint, the historian and geoprapher, and his son, from Natchitoches, La."

Imagine the state of body and mind in which the helpless father and anxious son continued their melancholy way on and on and on, to Cincinnati, to Wheeling, to Philadelphia, to Boston, to dear old Reading, the birthplace of the man who now, at the age of three score, had come home, to die in his brother Peter's house.

Soon after his arrival at Reading, Flint wrote a letter to his wife, bidding her farewell, and saying that before she received the message he would be no more. The mournful tidings came to the broken-down woman in her lonely southern home, and smote out her sad life. Thus the wife and mother, the silent partner so little heard of in the bustling career of her husband, went on ahead to prepare the way. The papers said nothing of her but that she died. But when, a short time afterward, the man whom she and her children and the general public knew and loved had breathed his last—August 16, 1840—and was gathered to his fathers in Harmony Grove, Salem, the press teemed with eulogies.

CHAPTER XII.

JUDGE JAMES HALL, SOLDIER, JURIST, AUTHOR, EDITOR.

James Hall, soldier, jurist, author, banker, came of literary stock. His maternal grandfather, Rev. John Ewing, D.D., pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia; provost of Pennsylvania University, and vice-president of the American Philosophical Society, was a man of learning, who wrote ably on theology and science, and who possessed the faculty of rendering abtruse subjects familiar and agreeable.

Dr. Ewing's daughter, Sarah, who was carefully educated by her father, was one of the few American women who, in the last century, achieved a considerable reputation in authorship. This charming woman was born in Philadelphia, October 30, 1761, and her childhood and youth were passed in the days of the Revolution. She was married, in 1782, to John Hall, a patriot soldier, son of a wealthy planter of Maryland. When the Port Folio was established, in 1800, by Mr. Dennie, at Philadelphia, Mrs. Hall became one of its most popular contributors, writing many graceful, piquant, and sensible essays for its pages. Through her father and other influential friends, she became acquainted with eminent writers in the United States and England.

The cares of a large family interfered much with her literary undertakings, but she found leisure to write many charming letters, and to pursue polite studies. Not until she had passed the age of fifty did she publish a volume. It was a duodecimo of 365 pages, entitled "Conversations on the Bible," and passed through several editions, and had the distinction of being republished in London. The book, written in a cheerful spirit of piety, without austerity or cant, won favorable attention from critics. To a

Scotch lady who wrote with friendly interest, inquiring about Mrs. Hall's literary career, the latter replied: "Your flattering inquiry about my 'literary career' may be answered in a word—literature has no career in America. It is like wine, which, we are told, must cross the ocean to make it good."

Four of Mrs. Hall's sons were writers. The eldest of these, John Ewing Hall, was chosen professor of Belles Lettres in the University of Maryland, and he afterward published the American Law Journal. From 1816 to 1827, he edited the Port Folio, with considerable assistance from his mother and his brothers, James and Harrison. The Hall family had met with a serious reverse of fortune in 1805, and years of heroic struggle were required in order to retrieve the loss. The father was called to the position of secretary of the land office, and afterward was appointed United States marshal for the District of Pennsylvania. John Hall died in 1826, and his widow survived him but four years.

A small volume of "Selections from the Writings of Mrs. Sarah Hall," with a memoir and portrait, was published in Philadelphia in 1833, which well exhibits the versatility and general worth of the writer. Perhaps the most interesting part of the book is a delightful sketch, called "Reminiscences of Philadelphia," referring to the manners and customs of pre-Revolutionary days.

James Hall, son of John and Sarah Hall, was born in Philadelphia, August 19, 1793, and he died in Cincinnati, July 4, 1868. He was not sent to school until his twelfth year, but his mother taught him to read in his infancy, and he soon became extravagantly fond of books. When at length he was placed in the academy near Philadelphia, he found his studies repulsive, his school a prison, and his teachers tyrannous. The bitter memories which he has recorded of that dreadful "academy" recall Cowper's malediction on the English schools of his time. Hall says: "Kindness, amiability, politeness, forbearance, justice had never been inculcated at this school, either by precept or example, and the opposite vices took root in

the vacant soil. . . . I imbibed a deep-seated disgust against schools, and schoolmasters, and school learning; and against grammars, dictionaries, slates, copy-books, ten-plate stoves, switches, cobwebs, and all other matters and things belonging or in any way appertaining to a school-house." This abhorrence to school did not destroy, but rather it intensified, his pleasure in general reading, and especially in poetical and romantic literature. A respectable knowledge of Latin and French he acquired in the hated school, and at home his mother directed his studies. Perhaps sympathizing with the boy's feelings, his parents removed him from the "academy," and placed him in a merchant's counting-house, where for two years he practiced the useful art of distinguishing the words debit and credit. The beginning and the ending of his active life were devoted to commercial affairs.

While yet in his teens, the youth began to study law. The breaking out of the war of 1812 naturally excited this son of a soldier to think of military fame. He joined the Washington Guards, the first company organized for the service in Philadelphia, and commanded by Captain Andy Ragnet, who was afterward distinguished as a writer of several works on the currency, free trade, etc., and minister to Brazil. The company was made up largely of stylish young fellows from the "best families," for which reason they were known as "The Dandies," and they received many donations of delicate food, flowers, and smiles from the ladies of the city. Early in 1813, "The Dandies" encamped on the bank of the Delaware, near Wilmington, where, for some months, they watched a British fleet and enjoyed all the holiday pleasures compatible with the discipline of a "tented field."

In the autumn of 1813, Hall received a commission as lieutenant in the Second Regiment of Artillery in the army, then commanded by Colonel Winfield Scott; and stationed at Fort Mifflin. The next spring, Lieutenant Hall marched to Buffalo with a company commanded by Captain Thomas Biddle, and joined the army of General Brown.

The American army crossed over into Canada on the 3d

of July, 1814, and fought the battle of Chippewa, July 5th, Lundy's Lane, July 25th, and Fort Erie, August 15th. Hall was in all three of these engagement, and conducted himself with such bravery that he was complimented by his superior officers.

At the close of the war Lieutenant Hall, who was retained in the regular army, was chosen as one of the artillery officers who were appointed to accompany Commodore Decatur on the expedition against Algiers. He sailed in September, 1815, in the brig Enterprise, Lawrence Kearney commanding. The cruise to the Mediterranean and back occupied less than half a year, and was full of interest to the young officer. One day the vessel on which he voyaged hailed a returning American ship in mid-ocean, and the question was asked: "What's the news?" "Napoleon has gone to hell," was the reply, and this one brief but comprehensive particular was all that the passing bark could communicate concerning the loser of Waterloo.

On his return from Algiers, Hall, then a captain, was stationed at Newport, Rhode Island, until 1817, when he was ordered to Pittsburg. Here, while upon duty in the Ordnance Department, he resumed his law studies. He was admitted to the bar in 1818, and resigned his position in the army.

The vigorous, active, enthusiastic young gentleman was now twenty-five years old, buoyant with hope, overflowing with energy and ambition. His enjoyment of reading and observation had developed the kindred pleasure of writing. The Port Folio, his brother's magazine, afforded him a convenient medium through which to convey his words to the "gentle reader," and he wrote much for its pages. At Pittsburg he became intimate with Morgan Neville, then connected editorially with the Pittsburg Gazette. To this, the oldest newspaper west of the Alleghanies (founded in 1786), he became a contributor. The articles he wrote were of a practical kind, urging the state to construct roads and canals.

We may date the beginning of his carreer as author in the year 1820. He launched upon the stream of literature,

and on the bewitching Ohio river at the same time. Smitten with the desire to go West and "explore the country," he took passage on a keel-boat for Shawneetown, Illinois. The boat was of about forty-five tons burden, loaded with merchandise, and navigated by eight or ten roystering boatmen, stalwart, mischievous, and merry. The traveler's senses were alive to every impression; his curiosity was alert, and his sentimental tendency had full scope. The majestic river, the embracing hills, the forests clad in the verdure of spring, gay with blossoms and musical with birds, the islands, especially that romantic one named Blennerhasset, all combined to delight his eyes, kindle his imagination, and incite to the study of natural phenomena. Nor was the human interest of the journey less varied, novel, and absorbing. The new villages and the farmers' cabins on the river banks afforded busy scenes of activity in contrast to the solitude of the general landscape. Captain Hall carried a fowling-piece, and whenever his floating lodging-house stopped on the border of Ohio, Virginia, or Kentucky, he sprang ashore, ranged the woods, shooting squirrels, and made social calls at the settlers' houses, to drink milk, look at the girls, and learn the folk-lore of the backwoods by talking freely with the hospitable pioneers. At Cincinnati our young gentleman economized the few hours in port, not so much in collecting statistics of the bustling young city, as in the more important and pleasing pursuit of personal improvement in the company of a lady friend of his "dancing days."

The deck of the keel-boat was a stage on which interesting scenes were presented. The person, dress, and conversation of the boatmen were peculiar. Hall was particularly struck with the boat-songs, which he describes as "poetry dressed in rags and going on crutches." These rude melodies were usually of an amatory character, couched in the dialect of the river, and tinged with colors local and personal. Dance alternated with song, as the boat drifted down the lazy stream; the whisky-jug helped to put "life and metal" in the dancers' heels; and a

vagabond musician, rejoicing in the familiar name of "Old Pap," paid for his passage and his potations by playing many a merry tune on "Katy," his beloved violin.

This trip from Pittsburg to Shawneetown furnished Mr. Hall material for a series of letters, which were published in the Port Folio. Some years afterward these letters were collected in a volume, and sent to London for publication under the title, "Letters from the West by a Young Gentleman from Illinois." The friend to whom the manuscript was intrusted died in Europe, but the book was duly issued in 1828, from the house of Henry Colburn, London. The title, however, was expanded, without the knowledge or permission of the author, into the following: "Letters from the West, containing sketches of scenery, manners, and customs, and anecdotes connected with the first settlements of the western section of the United States, by Hon. Judge Hall." The explanation of this change of title is given by Colonel J. F. Meline, a friend of Hall's, in the following paragraph, fromthe Cincinnati Commercial of October 16, 1868:

"Having been promoted to the bench, in the interval between the writing and publication of the letters, some officious friend had, it is supposed, indicated the author's official dignity in the kind purpose of placing his work before the publisher under the most imposing circumstances. Thus, by an unauthorized act and without his knowledge or consent, the author was made responsible, under his real name and in his judicial character, for pleasantries which, however witty or agreeable, were by no means suited to the grave character of the avowed author.

"The book which would almost certainly have a success, was thus made ridiculous. Several of the English reviews noticed it at length, in the bitter and jealous spirit which then dictated all their criticism of American literature."

The journey in the keel-boat took place in April, 1820. At that time Shawneetown was the principal village in Illinois, which state had just been admitted into the Union.

The white population of Illinois was about sixty thousand, confined to the southern third of the state, on the borders of the Mississippi, Ohio, and Wabash. Indians were still numerous in the northern portion of the state.

Hall, in the preface of "Legends of the West," frankly tells the reader that he "commenced the practice of the legal profession, at an early age, with about the usual stock of dreamy reminiscences of Coke and Blackstone, Kent and Chitty, but with a somewhat richer store than ordinary of history, poetry and romance." He adds: "It was the search of adventure, rather than of actions at law, that enticed him to the wilderness. The legends of the West, scattered in fragments over the land, were more alluring than imaginary clients or prospective fees."

The duties of a legal practitioner in the backwoods afforded ample opportunity for pursuing the very studies and adventures that Hall was in search of. He spent four years in the office of prosecuting attorney, traveling the round of ten counties, and four more as judge for the same circuit. The scene and character of his labors are vividly described in his own language: "The lawyers not only rode large circuits, embracing nine or ten counties each, but those circuits were so arranged to follow each other in succession that the bar could pass from one to another through several of them, and an industrious practitioner passed half of his time on horseback. The counties were extensive, and the county seats being widely separated, the journeys were long and toilsome. There were no hotels, few roads and fewer bridges.

"The traveler often passed from county to county by some bridle-paths leading from one settlement to another, crossed streams where 'fords there were none,' and when the channels were filled with heavy rains, found both difficulty and danger getting over. Sometimes the close of the day found him far from the shelter of a human habitation, and then, like the hunter, he must light his fire and encamp under a spreading tree, and the want of an *inn* obliged him to camp *out*. The more usual resting place was at the log house of a farmer, where a cordial

welcome and a board spread bountifully with the products of the field and the forest awaited him.

"The seats of justice were small villages, mostly mere hamlets, composed of log-houses, into which the judge and bar were crowded, with the grand and petit jurors, litigants, witnesses, and, in short, the whole body of the county—for in new counties every body goes to court. Here was no respect to persons; they ate together, slept together, congregated together in the crowded court-house, and assembled together around the stump to hear the bursts of patriotic eloquence from the candidates for office.

"Such were the scenes, and such the population among which the author spent twelve years in the exercise of a profession which, above all others, opens to its members familiar views of the whole organization of society and of much of all that passes in the business and bosoms of men. Traveling continually on horseback, over broad and beautiful prairies, and through forests shaded and tangled with all the luxuriance and majesty of their primitive state, encountering the hunter in his solitary ramble, or sitting with him by his fireside, breaking his bread and partaking of his convivial cup—living with them, in short, from day to day, and from week to week, as their fellow-citizen, their counselor and their guest—his opportunities for becoming well acquainted with the haunts and homes of the backwoodsman were quite as favorable as could be well imagined."

The practice of law and the discharge of judicial duties in Illinois at the period here considered called for firmness and courage in the legal fraternity. Counterfeiters, horse-thieves, robbers, and other desperate characters infested the frontier settlements. Courts were set at defiance. Timid prosecutors and judges were threatened by desperadoes. Hall was not of the fearful kind, yet he had his full share of adventures. On one occasion he discovered the secret meeting-place of a gang of outlaws, in a concealed cabin several miles from Shawnee Town. Collecting a small party of reliable men, including in the

number the sheriff, he led the way one night to the rendezvous of the dangerous fellows. The posse rode to within a few rods of the cabin, alighted, tied their horses to trees, and crept noiselessly toward their intended captives. Then, after stationing his companions on guard, Hall entered the thieves' den alone. The surprised criminals were engaged in various ways, each with his arms beside him, gun, dirk and pistol. Startled by the intrusion of a stranger, they all sprang to their feet, snatching up weapons. "Don't shoot, my friends;" said the visitor, quietly, "but listen to me." One of the gang, recognizing the representative of law, exclaimed: "Why, is it you, 'Squire Hall?" (They called him Captain Hall, or Colonel Hall, or 'Squire Hall, indiscriminately—it was before he was judge.) "Yes,"—calling the man by name, for he knew the rascals—"and I just want to say a few words peaceably to you fellows." So he went on and told them how their hiding-place had been discovered, and that the sheriff with his posse was outside, and advised them to surrender at discretion and be treated as prisoners of war, and not venture to fight against odds and be beaten first and taken afterward. The result of it all was that the whole gang was captured without a struggle.

Judge Hall seldom spoke of his own achievements, military or civil, but he was fond of a personal anecdote, and he used sometimes to tell his family the following story of a whimsical adventure that befel him while he was once acting as a prosecuting lawyer at Vandalia: One day, on coming out of the court-house, a man stepped up to him, and, calling him by name, asked him to walk over to a grove one or two hundred yards distant, because he wanted to have a little private conversation with him. The judge was accustomed to tell, with a twinkle of the eye, how he followed the fellow with some internal trepidation, for, said he, "I did not know whether he intended to shoot me or only to horsewhip me, for I had shown no mercy to his sort while I was state's attorney, and I was a little fellow, you know, and he a great, stalwart back-

woodsman; but I knew the only way was to put on a bold face." The man was under indictment for some crime, and his purpose in holding a conference with the renowned prosecutor was to try to induce him to undertake to defend *him*. He offered Hall a large fee, declaring that no other lawyer could save him from the penitentiary. "You say," answered the other, "that I can get you off, and no other man can; well, now, I will make a bargain with you. I will not help you for money, but if you will comply with my conditions, I will defend you. First, you must promise to change your whole course of living—give up your violent and lawless practices, leave the state and persuade your associates to do the same. Why not become an honest man and take a fresh start in the world? Promise that you will quit this mean business of preying upon your fellow-creatures; go to farming, or cattle-raising, or some other decent occupation, and I will undertake to get you off." The man promised; he was cleared by Hall's intercession; he kept his bargain and reformed.

Hall went to Illinois in the summer of 1820. Three years afterward, February 2, 1823, he married his first wife, Mary Harrison Posey, at the house of her father, Captain John Posey, in Henderson county, Kentucky. The Posey family is of old and highly respected Virginia stock. Mrs. Hall's grandfather, Thomas Posey, was a brave and efficient officer in the revolutionary army, who retired from the service with the rank of major-general. Removing to Kentucky, he was elected to the state senate and chosen speaker of that body. Subsequently he was appointed governor and commander-in-chief of the Territory of Indiana, to succeed General Harrison. A sketch of his life was prepared by Judge Hall for Sparks's American Biography, second series.

Mrs. Hall's father, Captain John Posey, was a soldier and a man of gentle breeding. Her mother and grandmother were both reigning belles in their young womanhood. The latter was a relative of Washington, who

spoke of her as his "charming cousin, the beautiful Miss Thornton."

Mrs. Mary Harrison Hall was a most beautiful, accomplished, and lovable woman. She died August 18, 1832. Of the five children whom she bore to her husband only one is now living, the oldest daughter, Mrs. Sarah Hall Foote, wife of Charles B. Foote, president of the Commercial Bank, Cincinnati.

Returning to the story of Hall's public life and services in Illinois, we observe that he availed himself of his advantages and recorded what he saw and heard. He took notes, not from books, but from men and things. The articles and books he made are like realistic pictures, such as painters compose from studies taken in the fields and woods.

The Illinois Emigrant, the second newspaper in the state, was started at Shawneetown in the fall of 1818, by Henry Eddy and S. H. Kimmel. Judge Hall succeeded Kimmel as editor, and changed the name of the paper to Illinois Gazette. His office as judge having been abolished by a change in the judicial system of the state, he was elected treasurer of Illinois, and removed to the capital, Vandalia. Here he edited the Illinois Intelligencer, and here he started the Illinois Magazine. In addition to his legal and editorial duties, he wrote occasional letters for the Port Folio, and essays, tales, and poems, under the pseudonym of "Orlando," for Timothy Flint's Western Review, published at Cincinnati from 1828 to 1830. In 1829 he prepared and issued the Western Souvenir.

The native or naturalized early writers in the West reached their audience mainly through the medium of newspapers and magazines. But that strong propensity to make books, which Solomon includes among the human vanities, stirred in the breast of the backwoodsman, even as in the bosom of his "Atlantick" countryman, or his cousin "over the water." Publishers in eastern cities issued annual "Souvenirs," antetypes of our modern "gift books" —fancy volumes, with gilt covers, and pictures—to which the leading authors contributed essays, tales, and poems.

In due time, or perhaps a little before the time was due for such experiments in the West, Judge James Hall projected and published the first literary annual of the Ohio Valley. It came from the press of N. & G. Guilford, Cincinnati, as a Christmas and New Year's gift. The book is a small octavo of 324 pages, bound in satin cloth, and "embellished" with six steel engravings from original paintings by Hervieu and others.

The subjects of the pictures are "The Peasant Girl," "View of Cincinnati," "View of Pittsburg," "The Shawanoe Warrior," "View of Frankfort," "The Deserted Children." The editor, Judge Hall, says in his preface: "The following work appears before the publick under the embarrassing character of being a first attempt to imitate the beautiful productions of art and genius, which have reflected so much honor upon the talents of our worthy countryman in some of the Atlantick States. . . . It is written and published in the western country, by western men, and is chiefly confined to subjects connected with the history and character of the country which gives it birth."

The editor introduces his volume to its readers with the subjoined parody as prelude:

"THE NEW SOUVENIR.

"Oh! a new Souvenir is come out of the West,
Through all the wide borders it flies with a zest;
For, save this fair volume, we souvenir had none—
It comes unpreceded, it comes all alone;
So glossy in silk, and so neat in brevier,
There never was book like our new Souvenir!

"It stays not for critic, and stops not for puff,
Nor dreads that reviewers may call it 'poor stuff!'
For ere the dull praiser can rail or can rate,
The ladies have smiled, and the critic comes late,
And the poets who laugh and the authors who sneer,
Would be glad of a place in our new Souvenir.

"So boldly it enters each parlor and hall,
'Mong Keepsakes, Atlantics, Memorials and all,
That authors start up, each with hand on his pen,
To demand whence it comes, with the wherefore, and when;

'Oh come ye in peace, or in war come ye here,
Or what is the aim of your new Souvenir?'

"We 've long seen your volumes o'erspreading the land,
While the West country people strolled rifle in hand;
And now we have come, with these hard palms of ours,
To rival your poets in parlors and bowers.
There are maids in the West, bright, witty, and fair,
Who will gladly accept of our new Souvenir.

"One hand to the paper, one touch to the pen,
We have rallied around us the best of our men:—
Away with the moccasin, rifle and brand!
We have song, picture, silk and gold-leaf at command—
'T is done!—Here we go with the fleet foot of deer—
They 'll have keen pens that battle our new Souvenir."

The contributors to the Western Souvenir, besides Hall, who supplied nearly half the articles, were Timothy Flint, Nathan Guilford, Nathaniel Wright, Moses Brooks, Dr. Harney, Otway Curry, Harvey D. Little, Louis R. Noble, Caleb Stark, S. S. Boyd, Ephraim Robins, John P. Foote, John B. Dillon, M. P. Flint, Benjamin Drake, and Morgan Neville.

The venture was not a financial success, nor are its literary merits of a very high order. Hall's own stories and poems are bright and lively. The gem of the casket is a sketch by Morgan Neville, a study of real life on the Ohio river, entitled, "Mike Fink, the Last of the Boatmen." This is an admirable piece of work in its way, and it won for its author immediate recognition and universal praise.

Morgan Neville was highly admired and esteemed by his contemporaries. He was a son of the distinguished Major Presby Neville, aid-de-camp of La Fayette, and a grandson of General John Neville. His mother was a daughter of General Morgan. Morgan Neville was born in Pittsburg, December 25, 1783. At an early age he was sent to an academy, where he was taught Greek, Latin, and mathematics by Mr. Mountain and Rev. John Taylor. H. M. Brackenridge, in his "Recollections of Persons and Places in the West," writing of his school-fellows, says:

"I will name Morgan Neville, William Robinson, William O'Hara, and Chas. Wilkins, of the first class. The first of these was the first of the first. The stories of the 'Last of the Boatmen,' 'Chevalier Dubac,' etc., are sufficient to stamp him as a man of genius. But his accomplishments in every thing which can form a perfect gentleman leave him no superior in this country, and few equals. It is wonderful that such a man should not be sought and tendered the highest official stations in this pure government of wisdom and virtue, where the beau ideal of Fénelon might be expected to be realized!"

Neville was admitted to the bar in 1808. Among his legal associates were Walter Forward, Alexander Johnston, Neville Craig, and Charles Shaler, all men of power and distinction in their day. Forward held several important national offices, the highest of which was Secretary of the Treasury.

From October, 1819, to October, 1822, Neville was sheriff of Alleghany county, Pennsylvania. In 1811, he was married to Miss Nancy Baker. He removed from Pittsburg to Cincinnati about 1824, and became connected with an insurance company as secretary. In 1826, he edited the Cincinnati Commercial Register, the first daily newspaper, I believe, west of Philadelphia. It survived but half a year. He wrote a good deal for the Western press, and took an active part in forwarding the educational and literary interests of the Queen City.

When the Duke of Orleans, afterward Louis Philippe, visited Pittsburg in 1796, he formed a warm attachment for Neville, then a lad of thirteen, and long afterward the Prince expressed regret on hearing of his friend's death. Morgan Neville, like his father, was devoted to the French, and entertained many distinguished visitors from France at his hospitable home. His private library, which sold for only $300, was the foundation of the library of the Ohio Mechanics' Institute. Some of the books of the Neville collection, as it was called, are yet to be found in a fair state of preservation. They may be distinguished by labels on which, together with his name, the number of

the volume, and an elegantly engraved pictorial design, the following motto from Horace is printed:

"Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna."

It was related by Jose Tosso, the violinist, who was one of the aids of La Fayette, and came with him from Louisville to Cincinnati, that the first inquiry of the venerable Marquis on arriving at the Cincinnati Hotel was for Morgan Neville, whose father had been on his staff in the revolutionary war. Let me quote Tosso's words as given to a reporter of the Commercial Gazette:

"Neville was ill with ague at his house, which stood where now is Chatfield & Woods' paper warehouse."

"I will go to him at once," the general said. He was shown the way, and after a little talk, he asked:

"'Well, Neville, what are your circumstances?'

"'Not good, general,' was the reply. 'I spent every thing I had to pay my father's debts.' The general then rang for pen and ink, and wrote an order on the United States Bank for stock to the amount of $4,000 in favor of Morgan Neville, and put it under the pillow. Neville was too proud to ever use a cent of it. His family, however, inherited it, and also received a pension from Louis Philippe."

Morgan Neville died March 1, 1840.

The first number of the Illinois Magazine was issued in October, 1830, and the periodical, a monthly, was continued two years. This was the pioneer magazine of Illinois, and the editor, James Hall, wrote the most of it, doing a work in Shawneetown similar to that Gibbs Hunt did at Lexington, and Timothy Flint at Cincinnati with their "Reviews." The contents were largely historical, relating to the early setttlement of the West. In a series of articles headed, "Indian Relations," written in a noble and magnanimous spirit, and filled with facts and persuasive arguments, Judge Hall arraigned the government and the people for injustice to the red race, anticipating the plea so strongly made in these latter days by Mrs. Helen Jackson in "Ramona." The magazine gave much prominence

to the subject of education, and kept pace with the progress of literature. Under the caption, "March of Mind," the editor stated that within the last three months of the year 1831 eighty-five thousand volumes, mainly school-books, had been issued from the press of Cincinnati.

Several original stories appeared in the Illinois Magazine, and plenty of original verse. Salmon P. Chase, James H. Perkins, and Otway Curry were contributors. Mrs. Anna Peyre Dinneis, a once quite popular writer in the West, gained her reputation by poems published in the Illinois Magazine, under the signature, "Moina." Hugh Peters, a young lawyer of great literary promise and much admired by his contemporaries, wrote his best pieces for Hall's publication. His poem, "Connecticut," enjoyed a school reader immortality.

Late in the year 1832 Judge Hall removed to Cincinnati, where he soon after began the publication of "The Western Monthly Magazine, a Continuation of the Illinois Monthly Magazine." The first number was issued in January, 1833. Its aims were like those of its predecessor, though the scope was wider, and the contributors were numerous. Introducing his periodical to the public, the editor wrote: "Although devoted chiefly to elegant literature, it has always been our wish and endeavor to render it useful, by making it the medium for disseminating valuable information and pure moral principles." Matters historical and statistical received much attention. The editor furnished "Notes on Illinois," Rev. J. M. Peck supplied pioneer reminiscences, Jno. H. James, of Urbana, Ohio, contributed many chapters of his valuable "History of Ohio," and E. D. Mansfield wrote various articles on the material economics of the West. Scientific and literary topics were discussed somewhat ponderously, and a number of heavy essays, original and selected, appeared on "Phrenology," "British Statesmen," "American Literature." The editor, in a "message" to his readers in February, 1835, says: "To show that we have not been wanting in exertion to give variety to our pages and to cause the whole West, as far as practicable, to be

presented in our pages, we will state the fact that the articles contained in the last volume were written by *thirty-seven* different individuals, who are known to us, besides several who are anonymous. Of these, four reside in Kentucky, two in Indiana, four in Illinois, one in Missouri, one in Tennessee, two in Alabama, one in Michigan, one in Mississippi, one in Pennsylvania, one in New York, one in Massachusetts, and the remainder in Ohio. Of these, six are ladies; and it is due to them to say, that some of the most vigorous and popular articles which have adorned our periodical have been the production of highly-gifted females." Prominent among the "*thirty-seven*" contributors were Rev. Jas. H. Perkins, Morgan Neville, Benjamin Drake, Charles D. Drake, Otway Curry, W. D. Gallagher, and Joseph Reese Fry. Of the "gifted females," at least three made names for themselves. Miss Hannah H. Gould, of Newburyport, Massachusetts, whose first volume, which appeared in 1832, was warmly praised by Judge Hall, contributed to the Western Monthly Magazine many of her most popular poems, including "The Winter King," "The Bed upon the Beech," and "The Pioneers." It may be said that Hall brought this writer out.

Mrs. Caroline Lee Hentz, who, with her husband, carried on a private school in Cincinnati, wrote many stories and poems for the magazine. Her name was very familiar to readers of fiction. According to Allibone, ninety-three thousand volumes of her novels were sold within three years. She was a daughter of General John Whiting, of the United States army, and was born at Lancaster, Massachusetts. Before she was thirteen, she composed a novel and a tragedy in five acts. She was married to Prof. N. M. Hentz, and lived at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, before coming to Cincinnati. She removed from Ohio with her husband to Alabama, living first near Florence, and then at Tuscaloosa. Among her books are: "Aunt Patty's Scrap Bag," "The Mob Cap," "Aunt Mercy," "The Blind Girl," "The Peddler," "Lowell's

Folly," and "Ernest Linwood." She wrote a tragedy,[1] "De Lara, or the Moorish Bride," for which a gold medal and a prize of $500 were awarded her by a Boston theatrical manager. She also produced a tragedy called "Constance of Werdenberg," and another, "Lamorah, or the Western Wild," which was written in Cincinnati, and represented there on the stage, and afterward printed in a newspaper. The scene of the play was laid on the banks of the Ohio, and the principal character, Lamorah, was a sentimental squaw most wretchedly in love.

The third famous lady contributor to Hall's Magazine was Harriet Beecher. She was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1812, and, at the age of fifteen, she became the assistant of her sister, Catherine, in a girls' school at Hartford. She removed to Cincinnati with her father's family, and not long afterward, at the age of twenty-four, she was married to Prof. Calvin Stowe, at Lane Seminary. Mrs. Stowe's literary career really began in Cincinnati. E. D. Mansfield mentions in his "Memories" that he had heard her read her first public composition at Miss Pierce's school, Litchfield, and that a few years afterward he published her first printed story in the Cincinnati Chronicle. In April, 1834, she contributed to the Western Monthly Magazine a "New England Sketch," for which she received a prize of fifty dollars. She wrote the delightful study, "Aunt Mary," for the same periodical. Her first volume, "The May Flower," published in 1849, was dedi-

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[1] This tragedy was printed at Tuscaloosa in 1843. The preface says: "Mr. Pelby, of Boston, offered five hundred dollars for the best original tragedy, which was awarded to Mrs. Caroline Lee Hentz. Owing to pecuniary embarrassment, he felt unable to pay the whole amount of the award, and honorably returned to her the copyright." Mr. Robert Clarke, of Cincinnati, possesses a copy of "De Lara," on the fly-leaf of which is inscribed the following "Notice:"

"This being the sole property of

EDWIN E. ANDERSON,

and supposed to be the only copy extant of this original play in the United States, the purloining of which will be punished to the utmost extent of the law.

HOWARD ATHENEUM, BOSTON, MASS., April 4, '58."

cated to the "Semi-colon Club," a Queen City literary society, of which she was a member.

Judge Hall supplied the magazine with many stories, poems, critical sketches, and reviews. His life of General Harrison was printed as a serial. Much of the material of his several volumes first appeared in the periodical. A sharp and aggressive critic, he wrote humorous and sarcastic reviews of various contemporary writings and writers. He compared the works of Wilson and Audubon, to the disparagement of the latter. He very wittily ridiculed Flint's "Lectures on Natural History," and Caleb Atwater's antiquarian discussions. Mann Butler's "History of Kentucky" was handled so severely by Hall as to call out a rejoinder in the form of a pamphlet.

The most heated controversy in which he engaged was precipitated in 1835, when, like a lone knight championing an unpopular cause, he boldly struck the sounding shield of the doughty crusader, Dr. Lyman Beecher. Beecher had made Lane Seminary a militant post of offensive warfare against Catholicism and slavery. His little book, "A Plea for the West," was an argument against foreign migration, especially the migration of ignorant foreigners, to the Mississippi Valley. The publication of it excited much feeling, and was thought to have unjustly inflamed public opinion against the Church of Rome.

Hall took up the gauntlet in behalf of the Catholics, believing them to be misrepresented and abused. He reviewed Beecher's discourse at considerable length and with caustic severity, calling it a "plea for Lane Seminary and against the Catholics." In May, 1835, a long article appeared in the magazine devoted to "The Catholic Question," *in extenso*. Other writers engaged in the controversy, especially Eli Taylor, the editor of the Journal, an anti-Catholic and anti-slavery newspaper, and former publisher of Hall's Magazine. Many patrons withdrew their names from Hall's subscription list. Some accused the editor of disloyalty to his own sect; some forsook him because he had condemned the "heresy of abolition," he

favoring gradual emancipation instead of the Garrisonian method.

Financial disputes with Eli Taylor caused a change to be made in the publication of the magazine, which, in January, 1835, was transferred to Flash, Ryder & Co. In June, having made engagements to enter other business, Judge Hall withdrew from the editorship of the magazine, which devolved upon James Reese Fry. At the close of the year, Hall sold out to James B. Marshall, who merged it in his Literary Journal and Review, at Louisville, in February, 1837. The joint subscription lists numbered only a thousand names. To these a new periodical, called the Monthly Magazine and Review, edited by Wm. D. Gallagher, was sent for five months only, and the languishing publication perished June, 1837.

Before his removal to Cincinnati, Judge Hall had published three books, in addition to his volumes of the Illinois Magazine. The first of these was the "Letters from the West," already spoken of. The second was a collection of short stories, "Legends of the West," issued from a Philadelphia press in 1832. The titles of the stories are, "The Backwoodsman," "The Divining Rod," "The Seventh Son," "The Missionaries," "A Legend of Carondelet," "The Intestate," "Michael de Coucy," "The Emigrants," "The Barrack-Master's Daughter." In 1832 appeared "The Soldier's Bride and Other Tales." This was followed, in 1833, by "The Harpe's Head; a Legend of Kentucky." The next year the diligent author put out "Sketches of the West," in two volumes, and "Tales of the Border." "Statistics of the West," "Notes on the Western States," and the "Life of General William Henry Harrison," were issued while the author was still connected with the magazine.

Before he relinquished the editorial chair Judge Hall was appointed cashier of the Commercial Bank, Cincinnati. The charter of the bank expired in 1848, but the institution was reorganized under the same name, with Hall as president, which position he held until his death. For a period of more than thirty years, therefore, he was

engaged in absorbing mercantile duties. The exactions of business did not cause him to abandon literary pursuits. His most laborious task as a writer was undertaken after he assumed the duties of a bank cashier.

This was the composition of an elaborate "History of the Indian Tribes," in three huge folios, embellished by one hundred and twenty authentic portraits from the Indian gallery at Washington. This splendid work was republished in London. The original price was $120 per set, but the few copies now attainable are held at a much higher rate. The projector and chief proprietor of the publication was Colonel Thomas L. McKenny, of the Indian Department. He superintended the illustration, but the letter-press was written by James Hall, and consumed the leisure of eight years.

The long list of Judge Hall's published writings is complete when we add to those already named "The Wilderness and the War-path, 1845;" "Anniversary Address Before the Mercantile Library Association of Cincinnati, 1846;" the "Life of Thomas Posey," contributed to "Sparks's American Biography;" and the "Romance of Western History." In view of the useful and varied labors of Judge Hall, we may well agree with the assertion in Allibone's Dictionary of Authors, that "few men have done so much for the cause of Western civilization and the intellectual improvement of the country at large."

The salt and substance of Judge Hall's writings, exclusive of what is found in the "History of Indian Tribes," may be read in two volumes, the "Legends of the West" and the "Romance of Western History." The first contains cullings from the author's best tales, among which is "Harpe's Head;" and the second, though called "Romance," presents a vast array of historical facts and very little fiction. It is, indeed, Hall's most valuable contribution to literature, being a clear, vivid, authentic, realistic survey of pioneer life, more interesting to the reader of to-day, because of its literal truth, than the author's novels, for they are now sought for the facts they contain,

and not for their literary art or other merit as works of imagination. Doubtless, Judge Hall realized this himself, for he said in the brief preface to "Legends of the West" that the sole intention of his tales was "to convey accurate descriptions of the scenery and population of the country" in which he resided.

Judge Hall's volumes graphically depict the state of things in Virginia and Kentucky at a period just after the revolutionary war. We see in them the pioneer and the emigrant moving westward into the wilderness. The Long-knives encounter the red men; the "station" rises in the forest; the deer speeds away before the hunter; the paroquets flutter their green wings above the canebrake along the Ohio. Behold the train of pack-horses winding along the mountain road; see the piroque and the flat-boat bearing adventurers from Fort Pitt to the Gulf of Mexico. Coming down to a later day, we are introduced to the indolent French settlers at their picturesque, semi-Indian villages, Vincennes and Kaskaskia.

We explore Southern Illinois, and listen to stories of Missouri trappers, and of the freebooters that rob by river and on land and hide in caves. Then the novels take us to hunt the raccoon and the wild-cat in the Kentucky woods. "Hank Short, the snake-killer," amuses us with his extraordinary feats; and we are horrified at the ghastly vision of Micajah Harpe's gory head severed from his body and stuck in the forks of a tree.

Judge Hall goes with us to the hospitable manor-house of the Virginia planter, introduces fine young officers, and beautiful young ladies who journey through the forests, and are captured by Indians. He takes us to the backwoods cabin, entertains us with feasts and weddings, acquaints us with the barbecue and the camp-meeting.

The style of his composition is correct, dignified, and graceful; enlivened by humor and made piquant by satiric touches. Hall never loses enthusiasm nor vivacity, and, though his narrative is sometimes tedious, it is never dull, a remark that applies as well to Cooper and to Irving.

In the early part of his literary career, James Hall

found exquisite pleasure in the works of the great poets, and, like many another young man of sensibility and lively passions, he wrote in verse. The "Western Souvenir" contains a score of metrical pieces from his hand to half a dozen of which he attached the nom de plume "Orlando."

Judge Hall's wife died in 1832, leaving a family of five children. He was married September 3, 1839, to his second wife, Mrs. Mary Louisa Alexander, *née* Anderson, a sister of Governor Charles Anderson and of the late Larz Anderson, of Cincinnati. Mrs. Hall, who is now deceased, was born near Louisville, Kentucky, "Soldier's Retreat," the residence of her father, Major Richard Clough Anderson (aid to General LaFayette). She was a young widow when Judge Hall made her acquaintance. The wedding took place at Chillicothe, in the historically famous mansion of General Duncan McArthur, at Fruit Hill, afterward the residence of Governor Allen.

The issue of this union was two sons and two daughters.

The oldest son, William Anderson Hall, secretary and treasurer of the Phœnix and Merchants' Mutual Fire Insurance Company, inherits, in generous measure, the literary aptitude from both parents, and, had he devoted his energies to letters instead of business, he would have added another to the long line of authors of his name and kindred. As it is, he has written, as a pastime, much that is worthy of a more permanent repository than the newspaper columns, in which it has appeared from time to time, under the signature of "Timothy Timid."

In 1872, Mr. Wm. Hall wrote from Europe a series of delightful letters, which were published in the Cincinnati Commercial, with the general title, "Timothy's Tour." He was the Philadelphia correspondent of the Enquirer in 1876, and furnished that newspaper capital reports of the Centennial. There appeared from his sprightly pen, in 1886, a charming short story, "A Romance of Vesuvius."

James Harrison Hall, younger brother of William, is now in the fire insurance business in Dayton, Ohio. He is a graduate of West Point Military Academy.

Maria Louisa Hall married Thomas H. Wright, and lives in Cincinnati.

Kate Longworth Hall, the youngest child of Judge Hall, is unmarried, and is now living at Mt. Auburn.

Judge James Hall's death occurred at his home in Cincinnati on the 4th of July, 1868. A biogrophical sketch of him was prepared by his friend, Colonel J. F. Meline,[1] and published in the Cincinnati Commercial, October 16, 1868.

The man of business seldom finds time for literary pursuits. The duties of a bank president are exacting, and he who discharges them faithfully will have little energy left for the mental toil of composing books. Judge Hall's period of literary *invention* closed soon after his mercantile labors began. But he never lost interest in the cause of education, culture, and polite studies. We can not better conclude our survey of his useful life and services than by quoting a passage from an address which he gave before the "Young Men's Mercantile Library Association," on the "Dignity of Commerce." He said:

"I am happy to believe that the acquisition of wealth does not necessarily, nor, as I hope, usually, blunt the sensibilities, nor destroy the manliness of a generous character; that it is not always a selfish and a mercenary occupation. If money be sought with moderation, by honorable means, and with a due regard to the public good, no employment affords exercise to higher or nobler powers

[1] James Florant Meline, an author of considerable distinction, was born in the United States fort at Sackett's Harbor, New York, in 1813. He came to Cincinnati in 1832, and taught in St. Xavier's College (then the Athenæum), and asssisted in editing the Catholic Telegraph. He studied law with William Greene, and was admitted to the bar about 1835. He traveled and resided in Europe, becoming master of several languages—French, German, Italian, Spanish. Returning to Cincinnati, he practiced law there for several years. Colonel Meline took a prominent part in the civil war. Besides writing much for the Cincinnati Commercial, the New York Tribune, the Nation, and other newspapers and magazines, he was the author of "Two Thousand Miles on Horseback," and of many learned lectures. But his most noted work is that entitled "Mary, Queen of Scots, and Her Latest English Historian," a reply to Froude. He died in 1873.

of the mind and heart. And such, gentlemen, should be the character of the merchant. He should guard his heart against the seductive influence of money; he should carefully shield his mind against the narrow precepts of avarice. Money should be regarded as the agent and representative of the good it may be made to perform—it should be sought as the instrument of self-defense against the evils of poverty; of parental love, enabling us to provide for those dependent on us; of public spirit, in affording the means of promoting the public good."

CHAPTER XIII.

GEORGE DENNISON PRENTICE, JOURNALIST, POET, AND WIT.

George Dennison Prentice was born in an humble farm-house in Preston township, Connecticut, on Saturday, December 18, 1802. The natural scenery surrounding his home was impressive, and its varied beauty gave an early impulse to his poetical tendency. The child inherited bodily vigor, an active temperament, and bright intellect. His precocity was stimulated by a fond mother, who taught him to read in the Bible ere he had completed his fourth year. At the tender age of five he was sent to school, where he was kept until he reached the age of nine years; then his father took him out of school and put him to work on the farm. A poor man's son, he must do manual tasks, in seed-time and in harvest, and help the family to earn and to save. Physical toil in the fields did not destroy the lad's inclination for study. What he had learned in the country school begat a longing for more knowledge.

Doubtless the beloved mother, whose ambitious care had induced George to con the alphabet as he sat on her knees, seconded his earnest desire to prepare for college. In his fourteenth year he was placed under the instruction of a clergyman who had been a tutor at Yale College, and he made extraordinary progress in his studies. Perhaps the foregoing years of sturdy service, with plow and scythe and ax, were well invested, and had established a sound bodily basis for a good mental superstructure. It is recorded that young Prentice "completed the study of Virgil, Horace, Sallust, Cicero, the Greek Testament, Xenophon, six books of Homer, the Greek Minora, most of the Greek Majora, and other works, within six months after

his first introduction to English grammar." Tradition further declares that he learned Lindley Murray by heart in five days, and that he recited the twelfth book of the Æneid at a single lesson.

Making a discount of fifty per cent for exaggeration in the above assertions, the record would still prove Prentice a remarkable student; and if we credit the statement as it stands, we must accord him a place with such prodigies as Macaulay and Stuart Mill.

Like thousands of other ambitious young people, before and since his day, Prentice used the vocation of teaching as a means of getting to college. At the age of fifteen he undertook to teach his first school in a country village; undertook and succeeded. For about two years he continued to teach, then entered the sophomore class of Brown University. The phenomenal memory which enabled him to prepare for college so rapidly gave great distinction and brilliancy to his college career. We have it on good authority that he could repeat, *verbatim*, "Kames's Elements of Criticism," "Blair's Rhetoric," and "Dugald Stuart's Mental Philosophy." A poet says our teachers are the parents of our mind, which epigram adds interest to the fact that Prentice, while in college received instruction from the once somewhat famous Tristram Burges, and the much more celebrated Horace Mann. Prentice entered college in 1820 and graduated in 1823, crowned with the reputation of being the best student Brown University had then sent forth. Years afterward the careworn and world-taught man, revisiting the scenes of his student life, meditated thus:

"Within your silent domes, how many hearts
Are beating high with glorious dreams? 'Tis well
The rosy sunlight of the morn should not
Be darkened by the portents of the storm
That may not burst till eve. Those youthful ones
Whose thoughts are woven of the hues of heaven,
May see their visions fading tint by tint,
Till naught is left upon the winter air
Save the gray winter cloud; the brilliant star
That glitters now upon their happy lives,

> May redden to a scorching flame, and burn
> Their every hope to dust."

With a full mind and an empty purse, the honored graduate betook himself again to the wide-ranging art of school-mastering, finding employment in a seminary at Smithfield. Teaching became the stepping-stone to the profession of law, for which he soon began to prepare. He was admitted to the bar in 1827, being then twenty-five years old. The practice of law seems not to have been to his liking; at any rate, there is no record of his ever having tried any case. Perhaps he delighted more in literary composition than in legal forms, or the patience-trying task of securing clients. While in college he had written for the press in verse and in prose.

The poet, J. G. Brainard, himself an editor in Hartford, Connecticut, was the direct cause of Prentice's launching in journalism. Brainard, only six years his senior, discovered Prentice's ability, and encouraged his literary endeavors. Fifty years ago the knack of facile writing was rarer than it is now-a-days, when, as Tennyson said to George Eliot, "every body writes well;" and ready pens were then in demand. The New England Review was started at Hartford in 1828, and Prentice was chosen editor. The Review was an aggressive Whig newspaper that soon attracted popular attention, for readers perceived that it was ably conducted, and that its editor was a rising man. The precocious school-boy, toil-tried farmer, successful collegian, earnest teacher, disciplined law-student, was ready for his life-work. Henceforth he was the slave of the pen, yet its master.

When, in 1828, Jackson was elected president over Adams, political excitement was at a white heat. The memorable campaign arrayed the Whigs and the Democrats against each other in desperate partisan war of words, both on the stump and in the newspapers. The Whigs, stung by defeat, made tremendous efforts to regain their lost power. Political orators and writers brought all their batteries of wit, argument, and eloquence to bear in the hot controversy.

Henry Clay was considered by many in the Whig party as a foeman more than worthy Jackson's steel, and he was to run as the Whig candidate in 1832. The Kentucky statesman's adherents in New England pushed his claims vigorously. The canvas demanded that an attractive "life" of the "great commoner" should be prepared for circulation among the people. Who so competent to prepare such a campaign book as the ambitious young editor of the New England Review? Prentice was easily prevailed upon to undertake the task. As it was necessary for him to go to Kentucky to obtain material for his book, a provisional editor was wanted to carry on the Hartford paper. There was among the contributors to the Review a Quaker youth, five years the junior of Mr. Prentice—his name, John Greenleaf Whittier. This young man had been studying and teaching in the academy at Haverill, Massachusetts. He had come back to his father's farm, and was one day hoeing in the field when a letter was brought him from the publishers of the Review, requesting him, in Prentice's name, to come to Hartford and edit the paper. "I could not have been more astonished," said Whittier, afterwards, relating the incident to John James Piatt, "if I had been told I was appointed Prime Minister to the Great Khan of Tartary." To J. C. Derby, the veteran publisher, Whittier said: "My first real work was done when George D. Prentice was editor of the Hartford Review; although I had written considerable before, I wrote and sent him a few things, and he encouraged me. When he recommended me to take his place, the publisher met me, and I went down, and for two years I remained with the Review." When Whittier arrived at Hartford to assume his editorial duties, Prentice had already gone to Kentucky; the two never met.

Prentice's "Life of Clay" was written at Lexington, Kentucky. The preface is dated November, 14, 1830. The book is intensely partisan, extravagantly eulogistic of Clay, savagely abusive of his political enemies. The style is lucid and vigorous, but the sentences often soar on

American eagles' wings. "Impassioned eloquence" was a commodity much in demand in the era of Henry Clay. The popular taste relished flowing periods, burning perorations, and scintillant rhetoric.

Prentice thus pictures Clay in the climax of oratoric fervor: "His keen eye kindles into new brightness from the irresistible fire within him; and his whole countenance discovers, like a mirror, the transit of star-like thought, which beam upon lips touched with the living coal of eloquence." One more of these exuberant passages may be quoted because it exhibits Prentice's temper and early style, and, at the same time, affords a striking example of a kind of composition once admired:

"When the spirit of faction shall have spent its strength and died; when the flood of calumny which, like the stream from the mouth of the Apocalyptic Dragon, has overspread the land with its pestilential tide, shall have passed off into the dead sea of common oblivion, the virtue of the last administration will be remembered, and will glow, undimmed over the waste of after-corruption, like 'night's diamond star' above the dark outline of a sky of storm."

The administration thus praised was, of course, that of John Quincy Adams, to whom Mr. Prentice refers in another part of his book in the following terms: "The tranquil majesty of his mind was like that of the ocean when its Controller has laid the finger of His silence upon every wave. A mild and chastened feeling of admiration might, indeed, steal upon the hearts of those who contemplated its quiet, yet noble manifestations; but for the calling forth of enthusiasm, a wilder and more passionate moving of its elements was requisite. It needed the sublimity of the tempest—the cloud-fire's shock—the loud summons of the thunder, and the hoarse murmur of the answering waves."

Such luxuriant growth of expression, loaded with every flower of speech, but especially with metaphor, characterized Prentice's early prose. I have read a short, sentimental story of his, probably written about the time he

left college. It is entitled "The Broken-Hearted," and is a tale of love and desertion. The heroine who dwelt in "a country village in the eastern part of New England" is described as "a creature to be worshiped—her brow was garlanded with the young year's sweetest flowers, her yellow locks were hanging beautifully and low upon the bosom—and she moved through the crowd with such a floating and unearthly grace that the bewildered gazer," etc.

"The Broken-Hearted" is one of those maiden efforts that their authors blush for when they grow old and wicked, but which, notwithstanding their jejune sentimentalities, are often more creditable to the heart than are the riper and less sincere productions of prudent maturity. The little story is spangled with rhetorical ornaments, but is really beautiful in thought and feeling, and abounds in moral and religious reflections very simply and devoutly expressed.

While Prentice was engaged on the "Life of Clay," propositions were made urging him to remain in Kentucky and conduct a newspaper to fight the Jackson party, and represent "Harry of the West." The project was realized in the establishing of the Louisville Journal by George D. Prentice and E. L. Buxton. The first number of this famous newspaper appeared November 24, 1830, a month after Judge Hall started the Illinois Magazine, and a year before Gallagher began the Cincinnati Mirror. Mr. Prentice was connected with the Journal till his death, a period of forty years. Henry Watterson declares that "From 1830 to 1861 the influence of Prentice was perhaps greater than that of any political writer who ever lived." Wm. H. Perrin claims that the Louisville Journal "built the city of Louisville," and "prevented the secession of Kentucky."

To Thomas Jefferson is ascribed the distinction of making prominent in political warfare that mode of attack called personal journalism, which he employed through the National Gazette, edited by Philip Frenau, the poet. The Aurora, a Democratic paper edited in Philadelphia by

William Duane, is said to have secured the election of Jefferson by virtue of its fighting force. So intense was the partisan antagonism that a mob of Federalists, wearing the black cockade, attacked the office of the Aurora. Another powerful Democratic "personal" editor was Thomas Ritchie, who conducted the Richmond Enquirer from 1804 to 1845. On the other side, William Coleman was selected by the Federalists to "fight in their cause and lead the van," in New York, and the Evening Post was the weapon he wielded. The history of Coleman's personal encounters was notorious, and it is probable that Prentice emulated his example. Wm. C. Bryant succeeded Coleman, and all know his power as a writer and his aptitude for applying a horsewhip on occasion, small of stature though he was.

Joseph Gales started the famous National Intelligencer, Democratic, in 1800. Robert Walsh, twenty years later, became editor of the Philadelphia National Gazette, the leading organ of the Whig party at that time, and a paper of great literary ability.

The individuality of such editors as Duane and Coleman gave character to their journals. The man in the "sanctum" and his chief contributors stood before the eye of the public, known and personally responsible. Modern impersonal journalism is a drilled army behind a wall. The early editors were summoned to a tournament in the open field—spear to spear, sword to sword. The knights of greatest prowess conquered. Nor was the spear always a pen only, and the blood only ink. What the composing-stick said, the editor must stand by when he showed his face on the street. The term "fighting editor" was not altogether figurative. He who ventured to fire a fierce leader at a political foe often had reason to expect a reply in the sharp rhetoric of a pistol. Richard Hildreth, the historian, says that "In the half century from 1765 to 1816 the peculiar literature of America is to be found in a series of newspaper essays, some of them of distinguished ability. Rich jewels now and then glitter in the general mass. But the editorial portion of the papers, and no

small part of the communications also, consist of declamatory calumnies expressed in a style of vulgar ferocity."

This peculiar style did not go out of use in 1816, nor, indeed, is it likely to disappear until the general process of human evolution has gone much further. In all times of great political excitement, strong and aggressive editors are liable to relapse into the old fashion.

George D. Prentice was one of the first powerful personal editors in the Mississippi Valley. He brought the Louisville Journal into the arena of action ten years before Horace Greeley started the Tribune, and twenty years before Raymond began the New York Times. The Kentucky champion was a warm friend of Greeley, though the two editors were often at variance. Prentice respected Greeley as a foeman worthy of any editor's steel, and admired him as strong men ever must admire others of like power. The Louisville hero of the pen thus greeted the New York journalist, in verses addressed to "A Political Opponent:"

> "I send thee, Greeley, words of cheer,
> Thou bravest, truest, best of men;
> For I have marked thy strong career,
> As traced by thy own sturdy pen.
> I 've seen thy struggles with thy foes
> That dared thee to the desperate fight,
> And loved to watch thy goodly blows
> Dealt for the cause thou deem'st the right."

Prentice was not the only famous and influential Whig journalist of his time in the West. Charles Hammond began his editorial connection with the Cincinnati Gazette in 1827, three years before the Louisville Journal was established. Hammond, born in Baltimore in 1779, educated in Virginia, was admitted to the bar in 1801. He removed to Belmont county, Ohio, where, in 1813, he started the Ohio Federalist, a newspaper which was discontinued in 1817. From 1816 to 1821 he was a member of the Ohio House of Representatives. From 1823 to 1838 he was reporter for the Supreme Court of Ohio, and prepared the first nine volumes of Ohio Reports. From

1825 to the date of his death, April 3, 1840, this very able, industrious, and learned man was editor-in-chief of the Gazette. In his capacious mind he received and digested the knowledge which proved him a lawyer, political economist, statesman, historian, and poet. An intimate friend and adviser of Clay, a correspondent of the leading public men of his generation, he was pronounced by Webster "the greatest genius that ever wielded the editorial pen."

Hammond's formidable antagonist in editorial warfare was Moses Dawson, conductor of the Cincinnati Advertiser, the Jackson newspaper of the Ohio Valley. Dawson, whose "Memoirs" by Mr. Reemelin were published, I think, in the Commercial, was a writer of great force and clearness. He was the author of a life of Harrison.[1] E. D. Mansfield has recorded some amusing recollections of the intercourse of Hammond with his respected Democratic opponent. "They would meet," says Mansfield, "at a noted coffee-house on Front street, where they would banter each other over their toddy. Dawson would say, "I'll beat you, Charley," and Hammond would say, "I'll give it to you in the morning.'"

Prentice found his Dawson, though a weaker one than Moses, in the person of Shadrach Penn, who edited in Louisville the Advertiser in advocacy of Jackson and Democracy. Penn was an able writer, but no match for Prentice. For a dozen years the Journal and the Advertiser maintained bitter war. Prentice disabled his adversary by the force of ridicule. Shadrach Penn was actually driven from the city and the state at the point of a terrible quill. Prentice recorded the departure in the following witty but not very generous sentences:

"Shadrach, after a residence of twenty-three years in this city, goes to spend the rest of his life and lay his

[1] Historical Narrative of the Civil and Military Services of Major-General William Henry Harrison, and a Vindication of his Character and Conduct as a Statesman, a Citizen, and a Soldier; with a detail of his Negotiations and Wars with the Indians, until the final Overthrow of the celebrated Chief, Tecumseh, and his Brother, the Prophet. By Moses Dawson. 8vo. pp. 472. Cincinnati, 1824.

bones in St. Louis. Well, he has our best wishes for his prosperity. All the ill-will we have ever had for him passed out long ago through our thumb and forefinger. His lot hitherto has been a most ungentle one, but we trust his life will prove akin to the plant that begins to blossom at the advanced age of half a century. May all be well with him here and hereafter. We should, indeed, be sorry if the poor fellow, whom we have been torturing eleven years in this world, should be passed over to the devil in the next."

Prentice rejoiced in controversy. His keen arrows of personal attack and defense flew to every part of the United States, and he was known in France and England as a poignant, epigrammatical writer. Punch appropriated his jests. He wrote with sustained force and with dignity on the political questions of his day. But his reputation, like that of Tom Corwin, depended much upon his wit and humor. His bright sayings were repeated in every newspaper. Readers looked every morning with eager curiosity for the last quip of the Louisville Journal. "Prentice says," was the introduction to the freshest anecdote of the breakfast table, and to the last swift-flying witticism on 'Change.

A collection of paragraphs from the columns of the Journal was published in 1859 under the title of Prenticeiana, a name suggested by Evart A. Duyckinck in 1855. The selections were first made by Mr. Prentice himself; then reduced to one-third the original number by friends to whom they were submitted; finally cut down still more by the publishers, J. C. Derby & Co. It is fair to suppose that so much editing diluted rather than strengthened the wit of Prenticeiana. The critical friends doubtless rejected the most audacious and therefore best hits, and the prudent publishers expurgated the expurgated copy. The book is a sort of paragraph history of party politics for a period of twenty exciting years. In its pages we

"Catch the manners living as they rise,"

of a past generation. We learn the characteristics of the press in other days. We realize the meaning of political vituperation. Much of that terrific editorial warfare seems more barbarous than it really was. The tragedy lapses, on occasion, into pantomime, and we see that the clubs are stuffed. Prenticeiana abounds in recommendations and prophecies in regard to kicking, nose-pulling, cowhiding, shooting, hanging, and going to the penitentiary, or to a place still more confining and hotter. The style is vigor itself, for vigor means war-making; almost every passage is an aggravating personality. The wit, for the most part, turns on the pun—the pun usually on a proper name. For example: "Messrs. Bell & Topp, of the N. C. Gazette, say that 'Prentices are made to serve masters.' Well, Bells were made to be hung, and Topps to be whipped."

The humor is broad, adapted to vulgar apprehension, the point never obscured from any qualm of delicacy. "There is a member of the Arkansas legislature whose name is Buzzard. Let him subscribe for the Louisville Advertiser; it will be a feast for him." Not all the passages in Prenticeiana are political nor written in the joker's vein. We meet maxims, philosophical, prudential, and moral. "A friend that you have to buy won't be worth what you have to pay for him, no matter how little that may be." "The pen is a formidable weapon, but a man can kill himself with it a great deal more easily than he can other people."

The following are straws from Prentice's sheaf of *bon mots:*

"A critic says of a late volume of poems that it is 'unutterably stupid.' Pity it hadn't been."

"Doctor, what do you think is the cause of this frequent rush of blood to the head?" "Oh, its nothing but an effort of nature. Nature, you know, abhors a vacuum."

"The New Haven Herald says: 'Does the editor of the Louisville Journal suppose that he is a true Yankee because he was born in New England? If a dog is born in an oven is he bread?' We can tell the editor that there

are very few dogs, whether born in an oven or out of it, but are better bred than he is."

"'The Louisville Journal professes to think that Mr. Clay can be elected to the Presidency. Is Brother Prentice a fool?'—Westchester Herald. No, but if the editor of the Herald is our brother, we are next kin to one."

"A locofoco paper of Illinois calls the governor of that state 'a temperate man.' We believe that his locofoco excellency did belong to a temperance society a few days, a year or two ago. He made a brief attempt at sobriety—merely made a stagger at it."

"A certain editor, who has had a controversy with us, suggests that he and we should look each other in the face. But he would have the advantage over us; he would have much the better prospect."

"'We feel that we can now go forward to our destination with nothing to obstruct our progress.'—[Washington Union. We suppose you can. The New York papers say that the obstructions at Hell-gate have been all removed."

Henry Watterson says "Prentice was the darling of the mob." At the beginning of his career in Kentucky, the "Yankee School-master," as he was called, encountered some prejudice, and had to prove his personal courage. Adapting himself to his environment, he quickly learned the use of the pistol, and was accounted the best shot in Kentucky. On one occasion, he was fired at and wounded by a political antagonist on a street of Louisville. Prentice throttled the would-be assassin, threw him to the ground, and was about to stab him, urged by the excited crowd. Controlling his rage, he released his victim, saying, "I can not kill a disarmed man."

Prentice was neither a bully nor a respecter of bullies. "There is no more dishonor," he says, "in being knocked down by a bully than in being scratched by a catamount or kicked by a jackass."

He was opposed on principle to dueling, though he mildly defended Clay for fighting a duel. To a certain Mr. Hewson, who demanded satisfaction according to the

code, for some offense of Prentice's pen, he wrote: "I came here, from a distant state, because many believed I could do something to promote a great and important enterprise, and as I have reason to think my labors are not altogether in vain, I do not intend to let myself be diverted from them. There are some persons, and perhaps many, to whom my life is valuable, and however little or much value I may attach to it on my own account, I do not see fit, at present, to put it up voluntarily against yours. I am no believer in the dueling code. I would not call a man to the field unless he had done me such a deadly wrong that I desired to kill him, and I would not obey his call to the field unless I had done him so mortal an injury as to entitle him, in my opinion, to demand an opportunity of taking my life. I have not the least desire to kill you or to harm a hair of your head, and I am not conscious of having done any thing to entitle you to kill me."

Prentice's immense influence enabled him to dispense much political patronage. Hundreds of men were indebted to him for public office. His power reached its culminating point in 1840, in the memorable Harrison campaign—the campaign of endless processions, log-cabins and hard cider. "Pray, in what respect is hard cider an emblem of General Harrison?" asked a Jackson editor. "All we know is," responded Prentice, "that it runs well." We can readily understand how the Louisville Journal did so much to secure the triumphant election of old Tippecanoe. Kentucky gave Harrison a larger vote than did any other state.

When, in the critical canvas of 1856, the Whig party went to pieces and out of its fragments two new combinations were formed, the Republican and the American, or Know-Nothing, party, Prentice went with the latter, and the Journal ran up the Fillmore flag. From 1856 to 1861, we know how men's souls were tried—how patriotism itself was bewildered. When the cannon of Sumter boomed, and the echo rolled along the Ohio valley, Pren-

tice wavered, and his indecision was fatal to his national influence. He opposed the rebellion, but not for radical reasons and not with zeal. The Journal was counted a Union newspaper, but the army of the Union did not recognize it as a strong ally. Whittier said Prentice was unfortunately placed.

The sympathies of his southern friends were with the Confederacy. His interests in Louisville were involved with southern business. His wife favored the Confederate cause, and his two sons enlisted in the rebel army. The eldest son, Courtland, was killed in the battle of Augusta.

Prentice worshiped but one hero, and that was the idol of his early political devotion—Henry Clay. Clay was his beau-ideal statesman. When Clay had gone, it seemed to him as if chaos had come to the world of politics. Just before the war, Prentice went the rounds of the principal cities as a public lecturer, his theme being "American Statesmanship."

The memorable part of his lecture is that which is eulogistic of the Ashland orator. On the occasion of the unveiling of the Clay statue at Louisville, on May 30, 1867, Prentice read an ode, in which occur the lines:

> "Alas! alas! dark storms at length,
> Sweep o'er our half-wrecked ship of State,
> And there seem none with will and strength
> To save her from her awful fate."

And again:

> "Oh, he was born to bless our race
> As ages after ages roll!
> We see the image of his face,
> Earth has no image of his soul!"

When a man comes to seek the companionship of Memory, and averts his eye from the face of Hope, it is a pretty sure sign that his day is waning. Let him bind up his harvest swath and quit the field.

Alluding to Mr. Prentice's lecturing experience, I am reminded of an amusing story which the witty editor was in the habit of relating at his own expense. One summer evening he delivered an address at a country school-house in a somewhat benighted neighborhood in Kentucky, and on leaving the building at the close of the speech, his attention was arrested by the conversation of two perplexed farmers. "Say, Jim," asked one of them, "what was he a drivin' at?" "Durned if I know—nor I don't reckon the old fool knows himself."

George D. Prentice was married in the spring of 1835 to Miss Henrietta Benham, daughter of Mr. Joseph S. Benham, a noted lawyer of Cincinnati. Mr. Piatt describes her as he saw her in middle life: "Still fine looking, having a handsome and attractive face, a stately figure, an elegant and gracious manner." Mr. Watterson tells us that Mr. Prentice once said: "I have not had credit for being a devoted husband; but if I had my life to go over, that is the only relation I would not alter; my wife was the wisest, the purest, the best, and the most thoroughly enchanting woman I ever knew." Mrs. Prentice's death occurred in 1868, two years before that of her husband.

Of the four children born to Mr. and Mrs. Prentice, two died in infancy—two, William Courtland and Clarence, attaining the years of manhood, both meeting violent death. The first was killed in the battle of Augusta, Kentucky, in 1862, fighting for the Confederate cause; Clarence was thrown from a buggy and killed since the death of his father. Clarence, like his brother, joined the Confederate army, against his father's protest. On one occasion the young man, who attained the rank of major, was arrested as a spy, and a court-martial was ordered by General Burnside to try him. Geo. D. Prentice telegraphed to President Lincoln, and immediately set off for Washington to intercede in person for his son. Hastening anxiously to the President's office, he was smilingly received by "Old Abe," who said: "Did you think I'd let them hang your boy? Sit down, Prentice, and tell me a

good story." The chief magistrate had already dispatched an order that the court-martial for the trial of Major Clarence Prentice be dissolved.

George D. Prentice died January 22, 1870, aged sixty-eight. His last two years were spent almost wholly in a small room in the Journal office. There he wrote by day, with hand half-deadened from writer's paralysis, or dictated to an amanuensis. There he slept the uneasy sleep of sorrow and infirmity. His friend and successor, Henry Watterson, says: "Strangers supposed that he was decrepit, and there existed an impression that he had resigned his old place to a younger and more active spirit. He resigned nothing. I doubt whether he ever did more work or better work during any single year of his life than during this last year."

In the summer of 1869, returning from a tour to Mammoth Cave, I stopped a few days in Louisville, and one afternoon paid a brief visit to the distinguished old journalist, in his editorial room. I found him at the desk, a quill pen in hand. He greeted me with a hospitable smile, and talked freely about matters literary and personal, giving me, I remember, a friendly message for John James Piatt, whom he pathetically called his "oldest friend," Mr. Piatt being thirty-three years his junior.

Mr. Prentice seemed older than he was, and, to me, he looked as men look whose work is done and whose ambition has perished. My interview with him happened in his "closing year." "Time, the tomb-builder," had numbered his months and days. He died at the house of his son Clarence, ten miles from Louisville, where he had gone to spend the holidays, taking Christmas gifts for his grandson, little George. The farm-house stands near the Ohio river, and as he lay dying in an upper room, a mighty flood came, and the swollen waters swept against the foundation of the house, the emblem of destruction and death, but also of immortality.

George D. Prentice is buried in Cave Hill Cemetery. He sleeps beside his son Courtland, over whose grave a

marble canopy rises, resting on four Grecian columns, with a classic urn in the center and on the top a lyre with a broken string. This tribute, erected by the father to the son, is a touching memorial of himself, who in mournful verse recorded:

> "Once more I come at set of sun
> To sit beside thee, long-lost one."

In a lofty niche over the entrance to the Courier-Journal building in Louisville is a marble statue of Prentice, representing him seated in the editorial chair. This figure is perhaps the most prominent object of art in the city. It catches the eye of every visitor, and keeps fresh in the minds of the citizens the memory of one whose bright fame illuminated the Ohio Valley, and shone even to distant lands. Not many months ago, I stood with the venerable poet, Wm. D. Gallagher, on the street, in front of the Courier-Journal office. "There," said he, with the sympathetic tone of one who is thinking of "the old familiar faces," "there is *George*." After a pause he added: "We had our political antagonisms; but Prentice was always magnanimous."

It is proverbial that the world's fun-makers are at heart melancholy. "Comedy is crying." In 1853, on the occasion of the death of Thomas H. Shreve, assistant editor of the Journal, Prentice, then fifty years old, wrote: "We, the surviving editor of the Journal, feel that the prime of our life is scarcely yet gone; yet, as we look back upon our long career in this city, we seem to behold, near and far, only the graves of the prized loved and lost. All the numerous journeymen and apprentices that were in our employ when we first commenced publishing our paper are dead; our first partner, our second partner, and our third partner are dead, and our first assistant and our last assistant are also dead. When these memories come over us, we feel like one alone at midnight in the midst of a church-yard, with the winds sighing mournfully around him through the broken tombs, and the voices of the

ghosts of departed joys sounding dolefully in his ears. Our prayer to God is that such memories may have a chastening and purifying and elevating influence upon us, and fit us to discharge, better than we have ever yet done, our duties to earth and heaven."

The Louisville Journal ranked high as a literary medium, and Prentice deserves to be gratefully remembered for having encouraged and assisted many young writers. Mr. Piatt, himself one of the recipients of editorial recognition, says that "such a disposition as Mr. Prentice, in the midst of busy political engrossments, showed and long continued to show, sole of American editors before or since, to encourage poetical manifestation is memorable." W. W. Fosdick gives similar testimony, saying that "Mr. Prentice, by private correspondence and by timely notices in his Journal, has caused many a blossom of poetry to blow in hearts that otherwise might only have worn a purple crown of thistles." Among the poets of real ability, whose early rhymes were welcomed to the columns of the Journal, may be named Amelia B. Welby, Alice and Phœbe Cary, William W. Harney, William Ross Wallace, Fortunatus Cosby, Wm. D. Howells, Mrs. S. M. B. Piatt, and last, but not least, Forescythe Willson.

Many a timid little book of verse was dedicated to George D. Prentice. A prominent publisher says: "It may be said of Prentice that he made and unmade poets and prose writers, as well as politicians and statesmen." Through his influence Mrs. Catherine A. Warfield's romance, "The Household of Bouverie," was published. He supervised the posthumous publication of M. Louise Chitwood's poems, and wrote a tender and sympathetic introduction to the book. Such deeds of kindness were habitual to his generous nature. He did, when his reputation was established, as he would have been done by when a literary beginner.

George D. Prentice began to write verses while a student at Brown University, and he continued to produce them occasionally to the last year of his life. His pieces gained wide newspaper popularity, and many of them found their

way into school readers and general collections. He asserted no claim to the poet's laurels, and critics, with a few exceptions, have rather slighted the work of his muse. In 1848, when his faculties were in the flush of vigor, the following characteristic rhapsody appeared in the Journal from his pen: "Poetry is a smile, a tear, a glory, a longing after the things of eternity! It lives in all created existence—in man, and every object that surrounds him. There is poetry in the gentle influence of love and affection—in the brooding over the memory of other years, and in the thought of that glory that chains our spirits to the gates of paradise. There is poetry, too, in the harmonies of nature. It glitters in the wave, the rainbow, the lightning, and star; its cadence is heard in the thunder and the cataract; its softer tones go sweetly up from the thousand-voiced harp of the wind, the rivulet, and forest; and the cloud and sky go floating over us to the music of its melodies. . . . It is the soul of being. The earth and heavens are quickened by its spirit, and the great deep in tempest and in storm is but its accent and mysterious workings." This exuberant passage enumerates the principal themes on which the author's poems are written—the grand features of nature, earth, sea, sky, with their phenomena.

"The Poems of George D. Prentice, edited, with a biographical sketch, by John James Piatt," appeared in a volume of 216 pages, in 1875, from the press of Robert Clarke & Co. The poems, sixty-five in number, are all short, and of very unequal merit, ranging from such masterpieces as "The Closing Year," and lines "To the River in Mammoth Cave," to slight conventional jingles and hasty verses composed for occasions poetic or prosy. At no time is his muse "poky," nor does she ever lack words or facility in versification. Now and then one wishes that Mr. Prentice had not learned so much of Kames and Blair at college. Rhetoric interposes an artificial veil between his eye and nature. In his best and sincerest moods this veil is lifted, and he sees hill, river, and sky, as God shows them. Yet eloquence is his blemish in verse, as in

his early prose. The taste of the times, and the example of the legislative halls, as well as of the bar and the pulpit, demanded sonorous periods and florid ornaments.

Mr. Piatt, an exacting critic, thinks that no other American poet excepting Bryant "has so finely handled blank verse as Mr. Prentice has done in several of his principal poems." In "The Closing Year," "The River in Mammoth Cave," "My Mother," "The Invalid's Reply," and other of the author's serious performances, we discover the texture of his mind—his prevailing emotions, his mode of conceiving and developing poetical ideas, his devotional fervor, his tenderness and delicacy, melancholy solemnity of feeling, pensive meditation on the past, chastened resignation to the Divine will; these are the frequent subjects of his blank verse. Occasionally the lines are surcharged with passionate energy, the words glow, the melody swells and resounds.

In reading Prentice one's pleasure is marred by the obvious evidence that the poet, in haste or carelessness, often left his work faulty where he was capable of perfecting it. Many of his fine descriptive pieces, while true to nature in general, are not true in detail. The stately rhythm of the lines conveys a sensuous pleasure, but the epithets are frequently inexact, and sometimes meaningless. The verse is strained and artificial in places where it should be simplest. Excessive imagery overloads the thought. Simile is used too much, and metaphor is misused outrageously.

It is surprising that a writer, original, sensible, and experienced as Mr. Prentice, should employ so many trite and puerile sentimentalities of diction as he does. He "sits me down" in "a fairy grot," or an "amaranth bower," to list "Eolian strains." Just fancy the sturdy proprietor of the Louisville Journal, with his keen appreciation of the absurd, sitting him in an "amaranth bower" —an "amaranth bower" in Kentucky! Then he makes use of the words "erst," "myriad," "weird," "welkin," "specter," "wizard," "Eden," with "wasteful and ridiculous excess." These and their like are good poetical

counters, but, after graduating day, with its orations and ode, they are to be sprinkled sparingly in discourse. Of all "pet words," the word "Eden" used adjectively appears to be the favorite with our western bards and bardines of yesterday. "Eden" and its synonym "paradise," have performed prodigious poetical service in the Ohio Valley. I am afraid that Prentice's muse must be held responsible for this. As a matter of curiosity I have gone somewhat into the statistics of the substantive adjective "Eden." Mr. Prentice allures his readers with "Eden dyes," "Eden flowers," "Eden tones," "Eden stream," "Eden message," "Eden isles," "gales of Eden," "incense winds of Eden," "a dream of Eden," and "Eden's blessed bowers." Mr. Gallagher, in one short poem, introduces "Eden lore," "Eden bloom," and "Eden glories." In the poems of Mattie Griffith, a protégée of Mr. Prentice, the nouns "Eden," "Paradise," and "Heaven" occur *eighty-seven times*, averaging about thrice to every poem, and aggregating celestial syllables enough to compose seven stanzas, each of four iambic lines. Mrs. Welby avoids "Eden" except in two happy instances, and in Mrs. Piatt's verse "Paradise" is altogether lost. I wonder if it was not the influence of the verse-makers that inspired the Queen City to name her beautiful pleasure garden "Eden Park?"

Prentice reminds us of Bryant, both in his choice of subjects and in a certain pensive quality and manner of expression. The touching verses on an "Infant's Grave" illustrate this:

> "Each spring-time as it wanders past,
> Its buds and blooms will round thee cast,
> The thick-leaved boughs and moonbeams pale,
> Will o'er thee spread a solemn vail,
> And softest dews and showers will lave
> The blossoms on the infant's grave."

But the poet of Louisville was much warmer than he of New York, and meddles much more with that dangerous fire—the poetry of the passions. A tinge Byronic is

discernible in his lyrics, as also in some of his blank verse. Byron enchanted the "far West," as he enchanted the older world. The reflection of his wild light is cast back curiously from pages penned by the pioneer rhymers of the wilderness before the time of Prentice.

In a letter dated December 25, 1855, addressed to Miss Sallie M. Bryan, Prentice wrote: "I have no doubt that your mind, as you intimate, has felt the unhealthful influences of the pages of Byron. I have, like yourself, an almost boundless admiration for the genius of that extraordinary man, but I believe it would have been better for mankind if he had never lived."

Prentice was fond of society, and society eagerly sought him. An ardent admirer of bright and handsome women, he pleased them in conversation, and his graceful pen was facile in the pretty art of compliment. Forever was he gallantly inditing "Lines to a Lady." Exquisite, in their way, are his verses, "To the Daughter of an Old Sweetheart;" more refined and dainty still are the sentimental lines, "To a Bunch of Roses."

But it is likely that neither these nor even the noble and impressive "Closing Year" will hold their place in the memory and affections of readers so long as the simple, sweet, and pure tribute "To an Absent Wife."

"'Tis morn—the sea breeze seems to bring
Joy, health, and freshness on its wing;
Bright flowers, to me all strange and new,
Are glittering in the early dew,
And perfumes rise from every grove
As incense to the clouds that move
Like spirits o'er yon welkin clear:
But I am sad—thou art not here!

"'Tis noon—a calm, unbroken sleep
Is on the blue waves of the deep;
A soft haze, like a fairy dream,
Is floating over wood and stream;
And many a broad magnolia flower,
Within its shadowy woodland bower,
Is gleaming like a lovely star;
But I am sad—thou art afar!

"'T is eve—on earth the sunset skies
Are painting their own Eden dyes;
The stars come down, and trembling glow
Like blossoms on the waves below;
And, like an unseen spirit, the breeze
Seems lingering 'midst these orange trees,
Breathing its music round the spot;
But I am sad—I see thee not!

"'T is midnight—with a soothing spell
The far tones of the ocean swell,
Soft as a mother's cadence mild,
Low bending o'er her sleeping child,
And on each wandering breeze are heard
The rich notes of the mocking-bird,
In many a wild and wondrous lay;
But I am sad—thou art away.

"I sink in dreams: low, sweet, and clear,
Thy own dear voice is in my ear;
Around my neck thy tresses twine;
Thy own loved hand is clasped in mine;
Thy own soft lip to mine is pressed;
Thy head is pillowed on my breast;
Oh! I have all my heart holds dear,
And I am happy—thou art here!"

CHAPTER XIV.

EDWARD DEERING MANSFIELD, PUBLICIST AND AUTHOR.

E. D. Mansfield was born at New Haven, August 17, 1801. His father, Colonel Jared Mansfield, a good scholar, bred at Yale, was the author of "Essays in Mathematics and Physics." President Jefferson appointed him teacher at West Point, and afterward surveyor-general of the North-western Territory, to succeed Rufus Putnam. Colonel Mansfield married Elizabeth Phipps, daughter of Captain David Phipps, of New Haven. She was a woman of superior character, refinement and culture.

In 1803, Colonel Mansfield brought his family to Marietta, where they resided two years, himself being away from home most of that time on his duties as surveyor in the Territory of Indiana. Edward remembered two things which happened while he was at Marietta, the great flood of 1805 and a visit which Madame Blennerhassett made to his mother, on which occasion the splendid lady brought along her splendid little boy, who wore very fine clothes and a pretty sword.

In October, 1805, the Mansfields removed to Cincinnati, coming down the river in an ark like Noah. In his "Personal Memories," Mr. Mansfield says: "Cincinnati was the first town I had seen, except Marietta, for the various towns now on the Ohio were then not in existence. But what was Cincinnati then? One of the dirtiest little villages you ever saw. The chief houses at that time were on Front street, from Broadway to Sycamore; they were two-story frame houses, painted white."

The family located on Mill creek, at Ludlow Station, now one of the most interesting landmarks of Ohio. Mr. J. M. Cochran, who has made a study of the homes and

haunts of the pioneers of the Miami country, writing in the year 1890, says:

"A part of the original Ludlow Indian fort, erected in 1790 in what is now Cumminsville, Cincinnati, was incorporated into the famous Ludlow mansion, which is still standing and occupied. Here, in the times of its distinguished founder, Israel Ludlow, many of the great men of our country visited. Here stopped travelers on the old Hamilton or Wayne road, to accommodate whom the brick building that stands adjacent was erected. Here once visited Little Turtle, a celebrated Indian warrior and statesman; and that was his last appearance in our valley. Within a short distance, on the beautiful grounds now occupied by the venerable Jacob Hoffner, stood Hutchinson's tavern, a well-known hostelrie of early days."

Referring to the same edifice, in a paper on "Some Historical Persons and Places of the Miami Valley," Judge Joseph Cox says:

"There, too, Chief Justice Chase was married to a daughter of Israel Ludlow, and a square away from it, near the corner of Chase and Dane streets, stands an ancient elm, nearly as large as the Washington elm at Cambridge, from under which marched the armies of St. Clair in 1791 and Wayne in 1793 on their mission of war against the Indians."

In one wing of the Ludlow mansion Colonel Mansfield established the first astronomical observatory west of the Alleghanies. Thomas Jefferson caused to be purchased, from the contingent fund of the President, a transit instrument, a telescope, an astronomical clock and a sextant, which the surveyor-general used to determine lines and boundaries. Colonel Mansfield remained at Ludlow Station from 1805 to 1809, and during part of that time he had in his employ Lewis Cass, afterward governor of Michigan, and Thomas Worthington, who became the second governor of Ohio.

Referring to his solitary life at Ludlow Station, Mansfield says: "The only lonely person was myself, a boy in

the country with no other boy to associate with, no school to attend, always with older persons. I was not intoxicated with the levities, frivolities, and fancies of youthful life. On the contrary, I was of necessity lonely, timid and abstracted. The impress of that timidity and abstraction remained upon my character until I had passed the meridian of life."

Colonel Mansfield went east in June, 1809, on a visit, taking his family to New York and New Haven. In Philadelphia he bought for Edward, at the book-store of Matthew Carey, a small collection of books, two of which, "Mease's United States" and "London Cries," specially gratified the boy.

Returning west, Colonel Mansfield rented the place of Colonel Isaac Bates, afterward called Mount Comfort, two miles nearer Cincinnati than Ludlow Station. Here the family remained three years, in which Edward began to read, write and cipher, aided by father and mother. He tells us: "My particular admiration in the spelling-book was the picture of the man who pretended to be dead when the bear smelled him; and the old man who called the boys down from the apple-tree, and when they laughed at him for throwing grass, pelted them with stones." When nine years of age he read his first book, a short life of Bonaparte, which made him want to be a soldier. In 1811 he went to school a few months, in a log schoolhouse, which stood nearly opposite the site of the present House of Refuge. Out of school, he learned much from nature; set quail-traps, saw a herd of wild deer, and an army of squirrels, that "covered the fences in every direction, devoured the corn and disappeared."

At the beginning of the War of 1812, Colonel Mansfield was called to the East and assigned to duty first at New Haven, and afterward at West Point. In New Haven Edward attended two schools, at the first of which he learned nothing, he says, "unless it was to draw ships and pictures on a slate." In the other school he made a start in the study of Latin. When, in 1814, his father became professor in the Military Academy, the youth was

sent to Cheshire Academy, Connecticut, to continue the study of Latin. The town library, fairly stocked with novels, enticed him more than his grammar did; and the whortleberries on the hillsides were more alluring than the library. From Chesire the not over-studious student was recalled to West Point, in the summer of 1815, having received an appointment as cadet. He entered upon the course of study—algebra, geometry, trignometry, French, drawing—without much enthusiasm, and did not apply himself severely until two years had elapsed, when his father stimulated his ambition by promising him a gold watch if he succeeded in winning a certain rank in scholarship within a stated time. "From that moment I waked up and did a good deal of hard work before my graduation." Having finished the course in his eighteenth year, he was offered an appointment which, at his mother's wish, he declined. It was planned that he should go West after taking a college course and studying law.

Princeton was the college selected for him, and from this he graduated in 1822. Next on the programme came the law-school, and this was found at Litchfield, Connecticut. Mansfield was admitted to the bar in June, 1825.

To the advantages of constant home training and a triple school course—military, classical, legal—he added the benefits derived from access to much society and to many notable men, his father's acquaintances. Timothy Dwight was a visitor at his father's house. So were Colonel Wm. L. Stone, the historical writer, and DeWitt Clinton, the distinguished statesman. Theodore Wolsey, afterward president of Yale College, was one of the "nice boys" whom he knew. He was made welcome at the house of Noah Porter's father, and at that of Samuel E. Foote, governor of Connecticut. In Litchfield he boarded opposite the residence of Dr. Lyman Beecher, whose merry fiddle he often heard playing across the way, and whose powerful preaching he attended on Sundays. Mrs. Emma Willard used to instruct and amuse him with her talk; and James G. Percival, the poet, who for a short

time was professor of chemistry at West Point, occasionally visited the Mansfield family.

The following incident connected with the once famous author of "Clio" is from Mansfield's "Memories:" "I remember one evening, in the early part of summer, the month of roses, Percival was at our house, and exhibited the true character of the poet, something to the annoyance of poor human nature. The evening had passed in conversation, when, at ten o'clock, my father, as he invariably did, retired. Soon after my mother, quite unusual for her, stepped out, too. Percival, my sister, and myself, were left in the parlor. The lights were dim, but the moon cast its silvery rays through the window, which probably suggested an idea to the poet. He began to describe a visit to Niagara by moonlight; the beauty which shone from rocks and waters; and, finally, what certainly must have been a beautiful phenomenon—a rainbow under the falls of Niagara. All this was in the highest degree poetic and interesting; but, alas! never did I have such a time to keep awake."

E. D. Mansfield can not be classed with those who, in youth, were "self-made;" for his educational opportunities were unusually rich. His parents had procured for him all that books, schools, and intellectual companionship could bestow. So liberal had the young man's training been, so amply was he equipped for the campaign of life, that the original intention of sending him West was shaken by the afterthought that qualifications such as his would probably be better suited to New England than to Ohio. The balance turned, however, in favor of the new state and its rising city—the young Queen of the West. The time had come for Edward to be launched, that he might learn to "paddle his own canoe." In his case the self-making was to begin after taking the degree of bachelor in literature and in law. Accordingly, in June, 1825, the newly-fledged attorney journeyed to Cincinnati, accompanied by his devoted father.

The young man, now in his twenty-fourth year, was welcomed to the house of Dr. Daniel Drake, whose wife,

formerly Miss Harriet Sisson, was Mansfield's cousin and adopted sister. It is a staple topic of trite jest that beginners in the practice of law or medicine are likely to have more leisure than they desire. Manfield's experience was not exceptional; the putting up of a sign, "Attorney-at-law," was not the signal for a rush of eager clients. On the contrary, the "briefless barraster" found plenty of time to review his studies, to attend parties, and to frequent the Columbia Street Theater, where he once saw Junius Brutus Booth in "Richard III.," and often heard Aleck Drake and his talented wife. But he soon tired of having nothing to do but to enjoy himself. Eager to engage in any dignified work, he was easily induced to join Benjamin Drake in some literary projects. Though without marked aptitude for composition and little inclined to cultivate the art of expression, he was destined to become a professional writer. In connection with Drake, in the summer of 1826, he undertook to compile a little handbook descriptive of Cincinnati, designed to induce immigration. Dr. Drake's "Picture of Cincinnati" was out of print and out of date, therefore a demand came for the later information in "Cincinnati in 1826." To obtain materials for their work, the authors took the census of the city, and gathered other statistics, Drake canvassing the town west of Main street, and Mansfield that east. The facts collected were presented in attractive language, and the small volume of one hundred pages, printed by Morgan, Lodge & Fisher, furnished an excellent guide and directory for the day, and is still valuable as history.

In less than a year after the publication of "Cincinnati in 1826," circumstances influenced Mansfield to share with Benjamin Drake the editorship of the Cincinnati Chronicle, a weekly newspaper which had been started January 1, 1826, by F. Burton. As Mr. Mansfield was connected with this paper, interruptedly, for fifteen years, a brief outline of its history will be appropriate here. It was edited by Ben Drake and Mansfield until 1834, when it was merged in the Cincinnati Mirror, which was discontinued October, 1836. The subscription list was bought

by Dr. Drake and others, who re-established the Chronicle, with Mansfield as editor. The next year it was bought by Achilles Pugh, who retained Mansfield, and in December, 1839, it was changed to a daily. The Chronicle finally lost its identity in 1850, when it was purchased by Nathan Guilford and merged in the Atlas.

In 1828 Mansfield's health declined to such a degree that he returned to New England. The three or four years that ensued were years of struggle, years of stern self-discipline and severe preparation for the real duties of successful life.

In the autumn of 1832, Mansfield came back to Cincinnati, and soon afterward formed a law partnership with a young Kentuckian, who, like himself, was a graduate of West Point. This was Ormsby Macknight Mitchel, who rose to distinction as an astronomer, and to fame as a general in the civil war. Referring to their companionship, Mansfield wrote: "He was my partner in a profession for which, I think, neither of us was well adapted.

"We were really literary men, and our thoughts wandered off to other subjects. The scene in our office was often a remarkable one, though observed by no eyes but our own. Mitchel was fond of the classics, and instinctively fond of eloquence, which, in his after lectures on astronomy, he so brilliantly exhibited. The scene I refer to was this: Mitchel sat in one corner reading Quintilian, a Latin author on oratory. He was enamored of the book, and would turn to me and read passages from it. I, on the other hand, sat at my desk in another corner writing my Political (Grammar now the Political Manual). Thus we were two students, each occupied with his own literary pursuits, and neither thinking of what both professed, the practice of the law. The consequence was, what might have been expected, Mitchel resorted to teaching classics, and I became a public writer."

O. M. Mitchel was born August 28, 1810, near Morganfield, Union county, Kentucky. Before he had reached

his tenth year, his parents removed with him to Lebanon, Ohio, where the lad obtained his elementary education. At the age of about fifteen, he was admitted as cadet to West Point Academy. On leaving the military school, he was assigned to post duty in Florida, and, in that state, he was married to a widow, Mrs Trask. Coming to Cincinnati he entered the law with Mansfield, as above related. Presently he started an academy, a species of military institute, in which he was assisted by John Augustine Wilstach,[1] now of Lafayette, Indiana, and eminent in law and letters. Mitchel was chosen to teach in Cincinnati College. For a time he was civil engineer on the Little Miami Railroad. Becoming deeply interested in astronomy, he gave a course of lectures on that science and formed a plan for the establishment of an observatory. A joint stock company was organized. Nicholas Longworth gave a lot on Mount Adams, and the corner-stone of an observatory building was laid, with imposing ceremonies, John Quincy Adams pronouncing an oration. A telescope was put in place in the spring of 1845.

In the summer of 1833, O. M. Mitchel published in Cincinnati a volume which he entitled "The Works of Quintilian, Digested and Prepared for the Use of the American Public." Mansfield's Political Grammar appeared in 1834, a text-book on the constitution, which is still in demand. It was reprinted in London.

Mansfield traces the causes which led him to embark in writing as a vocation to an informal literary club, the meetings of which were held at the house of Dr. Daniel Drake.

The coterie which assembled in Drake's parlor must have been stimulating to such young men as Mitchel and Mansfield. There was vigor in it. Drake was himself a galvanic battery of mental energy. Mansfield did not al-

[1] Mr. Wilstach is the author of a notable translation of Virgil, published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co.; and also of a translation of Dante. Other writings from his scholarly pen are "The Virgilians," a study of Dante, and an original Western epic, "The Battle Forest," a versified story of the Tippecanoe battle.

together sympathize with the crude and audacious originality of some of those pioneer writers who set authority at naught and wrote from "inspiration." Recently, from an Eastern college, it was but natural that he sought to impress the classic proprieties on the unconventional literati of the backwoods. To Flint's Review, he contributed, in March, 1830, a carefully prepared article on "Literary Industry," in which he says: "There is a strong tendency in the West to prefer the unassisted energies of nature in literary efforts to the refinements of culture and the restrictions of rule. Learning is frequently thought idle and criticism little. This feeling springs from a principle of independent action, noble and just in the abstract, but inapplicable to the pursuits of literature. They are the growth of artificial life, nor can even genius, without the discipline of labor and the observance of rule, hope to be distinguished in them."

The years 1832–7 may be regarded as an era of intellectual activity in Cincinnati and its literary dependencies. During this time it was that the locally famous Semicolon Club rose and flourished. This club seems to have been organized in 1832. Mr. John P. Foote gives some account of it in his "Memoir" of his brother, Samuel Edmund Foote, at whose house, at the corner of Vine and Third streets, Cincinnati, many of the meetings were held. Mr. Samuel E. Foote, generally known as Captain Foote, was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1787. He amassed a fortune by marine commerce, and then settled in Cincinnati. His sister Roxana was the first wife of Lyman Beecher, and the mother of eight children, Henry Ward being the youngest. Captain Foote and his brother John P. were intellectual men, and they, in alliance with the Beechers, were leading members of the Semicolon Club. Another prominent figure in the club was James H. Perkins, who came from Boston to live in Cincinnati in 1832. He married Miss Sarah H. Elliott, a sister of Mrs. S. E. Foote. The Elliott family was one of distinguished intellectuality; one of its members, Mr. C. W. Elliott, who

also belonged to the club, was the author of a "History of New England."

To the names just given may be added those of three Misses Blackwell, Mr. C. D. L. Brush, Mr. E. P. Cranch, Mr. C. G. Davies, Dr. Daniel Drake, Mr. Benjamin Drake, Mr. Charles D. Drake, Mr. Nathan Guilford, Mr. George Guilford, Mr. William Greene, Rev. E. B. Hall, Judge James Hall, Prof. Hentz, Mrs. Lee Hentz, Mr. U. L. Howe, Mr. C. P. James, General Edward King, Mr. Lawler, Mr. T. D. Lincoln, Mr. Joseph Longworth, Mr. E. D. Mansfield, Mr. J. F. Meline, Prof. O. M. Mitchel, Mr. I. N. Perkins, Dr. Richards, Mr. W. P. Steele, Prof. Calvin Stowe, Mr. C. Stetson, Judge Timothy Walker, Mr. D. Thew Wright, and his sister, the accomplished Mrs. Curwen.

Not one of these names is unknown to honorable reputation, and most of them hold a conspicuous place in the annals of literature, law, theology, science, or philanthropy.

Miss Harriet Beecher, who was born in 1812, and who at the age of twenty-four became the second wife of Prof. Calvin Stowe, at Lane Seminary, may be said to have begun her literary career in Cincinnati. She read many original papers before the Semicolon Club, and her first book, the "Mayflower," published in 1849, was dedicated to the club. In April, 1834, Miss Beecher contributed to the Western Monthly Magazine a "New England Sketch," for which a prize of fifty dollars was awarded her by the "enterprising publishers of the magazine." In a review of this "Sketch" the editor of the Cincinnati Mirror said: "Miss Beecher has evinced the possession of vivacity, versatility, and power sufficient to enable her to write well and pleasantly—a union exceedingly desirable."

At the date of the formation of the club Dr. Daniel Drake was about fifty years of age, and had won celebrity as a general and professional writer. His brother Benjamin had not yet written his "Black Hawk," "Harrison," or "Tecumseh," but was known as a sprightly editor, and writer of "Tales of the Queen City." Charles D. Drake,

the doctor's son, now chief judge of the Court of Claims, Washington, was one of the young poets of the Semicolon Club.

Nathan Guilford, born in Massachusetts in 1786, educated at Yale College, was known not only as the apostle of the public school system in Ohio, but also as publisher, editor, legislator, business man, and general writer. He was one of the leading contributors to Hall's Western Souvenir, and no doubt he was prominent in the club. A sketch of Guilford's life was furnished to the Genius of the West, March, 1855, by Rev. A. A. Livermore.

William Greene was one of the organizers and sustainers of the club. Of him a well-known Cincinnati gentleman, who has graced the bar and the bench, writes: "Mr. William Greene was one of the most glorious characters on the face of the earth, and affiant is aware of that which he affirms. He is dead—God rest his soul—but his works still live. We always called him Billy Greene. He was the most amiable man I think I ever saw, and a good deal more so than many I have never seen. There never yet was the wind or cyclone of adversity that ever blew that could rustle a feather of his serene plumage; and there never was a time when he was not in trouble, and trouble by the solid yard and ton weight, too. He was once wealthy, and lost all his money; but, Lord bless you, it made no difference to him. . . . Discussing a profound theological question, a crank (a crank, you know, is the fellow who is on the other side of the debate) thought to wind him up by the following stunning remark: 'But, you know, Mr. Greene, Paul says so and so.' 'Ah, yes! but that is where Paul and I differ.' In the latter part of his life some property greatly enhanced in value, and again made him rich. He went back to his original home in Rhode Island, and became governor or lieutenant-governor of that state." Mr. Greene lectured, in 1830, on "Constitutional Law," in the Ohio Mechanics' Institute.

The meetings of the Semicolon Club were held, as I have said, at the house of Mr. S. E. Foote, and at the adjoining residences of Charles Stetson and William Greene.

One of the members says: "My recollections of the Semicolon are but scant. I was at that uncertain age in human life when I took my big sister to parties, and stood in the front entry and was spoken of as 'nothing but a boy.' I remember that this occurred, I think, every two weeks. We went to different houses of the folks, and certain manuscript articles were read, which were supposed to be interesting and instructive. I suppose they were, as there is no evidence to the contrary. Personally, however, I remember thinking that most of them were stupid. Most of us were glad when the readings were over, for then we did something else, the principal of which was dancing."

Another "old member" furnishes me with an explanation of the club name: "You probably know that the name Semicolon meant (Christopher Colon discovered a new world) whoever gives us a new pleasure deserves half as much credit as the discoverer of a new world—hence Semicolon."

Mrs. Stowe, in a biographical sketch of Salmon P. Chase, gives a graphic characterization of Cincinnati society about the year 1834. It is reasonable to conclude that she derived her impression from experience among the members of the club. The Queen City is described as a "newly-settled place, having yet lingering about it some of the wholesome neighborly spirit of a recent colony. With an eclectic society drawn from the finest and best cultivated classes of the older states, there was in the general tone of life a breadth of ideas, a liberality and freedom, which came from the consorting together of persons of different habits of living."

The Semicolon Club had its eastern lion, who, however, was both hunter and hunted. He was none other than Charles Feno Hoffman, of New York. This versatile and pleasing author visited Cincinnati, and was a frequent guest of the club. On his return to New York, he published a book of experiences entitled "A Winter in the West." This came out in 1835. Here is an extract from Hoffman's book: "What would strike you in the streets

of Cincinnati would be the number of pretty faces and stylish figures one meets in a morning. A walk through Broadway here rewards one hardly less than to promenade in its New York namesake. I have had more than one opportunity of seeing these western beauties by candle-light, and the evening display brought no disappointment to the morning promise. Nothing can be more agreeable than the society which one meets with within the gay and elegantly-furnished drawing-rooms of Cincinnati."

E. D. Mansfield appeared upon the stage of public affairs at that most vital time when social institutions were taking fixed form in the West. His tastes and training fitted him well to participate in educational movements. For his life-long services in behalf of the common school system, Ohio and the country at large owe him a debt of gratitude. The happy phrase, "People's colleges," now so hackneyed, was first applied to the public schools by E. D. Mansfield. He says, modestly enough, at the age of seventy-nine: "In forming educational institutions I had some part myself, and I look upon that work with unalloyed pleasure."

In 1831, an effort was made to convene in Cincinnati the editors of the Mississippi Valley. This failed, but in June of the same year a general meeting of teachers was held, which organized the "Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers." The idea of creating such a body rose in the brain of Albert Pickett, sr., and it was first discussed in the Academic Institute, a pioneer educational association started in 1829. Pickett was a veteran school-master and pedagogical writer, who came to the West from New York city, where he had long held an honored position as principal of the "Manhattan School." He and his son, J. W. Pickett, conducted in Cincinnati a very successful private school for girls. In the year 1833, there were twenty-four private schools in the city, with thirty-eight teachers and 1,230 pupils, and in the public schools but twenty-one teachers and two thousand pupils.

The College of Professional Teachers was a popular

body, grounded on democratic principles, and its mission was to create a public opinion in favor of the free school system. Albert Pickett was the permanent president of the organization, and he opened each annual session with an address. Mansfield said of him: "He presided over the college with great dignity, and I never knew a man of more pure, disinterested zeal in the cause of education."

The proceedings of the convention of June, 1831, were printed in the first number of the Academic Pioneer and Guardian of Education, a monthly conducted by the editorial committee of the Academic Institute. The object of the second meeting, in 1832, as announced in the newspapers throughout the West, was "to promote the interests of education, and to secure the co-operation of parents and the friends of science in aid of scholastic institutions, whether they are of a public or private character." The Cincinnati Mirror described the association as a "congress of talent, the several displays of which were a treat of the highest gust." The meeting of 1833 was held in September, at the Second Presbyterian Church. In November of the same year, a similar convention took place at Lexington, Kentucky.

I would fain pay tribute to the leading spirits whose devotion to popular education in this pioneer congress of teachers, builded so broadly and well the basement walls of our school system. There was Lyman Beecher, who, as Judge Hall said, "burst out occasionally like a volcano, with a brilliancy that astonishes while it enlightens." There was Calvin E. Stowe, whose report on the "Prussian Education" remains one of the ablest papers of its kind in pedagogical literature. There were Wm. H. McGuffey, and Milo G. Williams, and Joshua L. Wilson, and Alexander Campbell, and John B. Purcell, and Thomas S. Grimke, and twenty others almost as eminent who deserve not only passing mention, but grateful eulogy for the helping hands they lent to the struggling cause of literature and learning in the days of the Teachers' College.

One conspicuous worker, perhaps the most forceful and aggressive man in the college, was the Scotchman, Alexander Kinmont, who came to Cincinnati in 1827, and died there in 1838. Western bibliography would be incomplete without a notice of his "Lectures on the Natural History of Man," a posthumous volume, distinguished by the praise of Henry James, who regarded its author as a man of genius, born before his time. George Graham, one of Cincinnati's most honored citizens, who died in 1881 at the advanced age of eighty-three, gave me some personal anecdotes of Kinmont, which I will reproduce. Kinmont was educated in Edinburgh for the pulpit. His arm was torn off in a cotton factory. He came to the United States to try his fortune. Passing through New Bedford, Pennsylvania, with his bundle on his arm, he met the father of George Graham, who persuaded him to take a school in the town. He afterward came to Cincinnati, where he was adored by his pupils. He believed in great freedom in school, allowing the boys to study aloud. It was his theory that a student ought to be able to get a lesson in the midst of the confusion of a steamboat wharf. If two of his boys got into a quarrel, he ordered them to leave the room and settle their dispute by a fair fight. He was strict in his way—his disorder was not anarchy, but liberty subject to self-control. No one trifled with him. He was very prompt. Kinmont's school was devoted to classic learning. Over the schoolhouse door he inscribed the motto:

> "Nil dictu foedum visuque haec limina tangat,
> Intra quae puer est." "Procul, O! procul este profani;"
> "Maxima debetur puero reverentia."

Kinmont was offered a position in the Cincinnati College at a salary of $2,000. But he declined on the ground that to accept would be to surrender his liberty. Said he to Mr. Graham, who tendered him the place: "Your college will be under the control of a faculty; I wish to be not directed by a faculty or by trustees; think of my

being told how to teach school by a set of professional donkeys."

The ordinance of 1787 proclaimed that education should forever be encouraged in the North-western Territory; the constitution of Ohio repeated the same, and, in 1825, Nathan Guilford and other legislators secured the passage of a bill providing for school taxes and teachers' examinations, and imposing educational duties upon the township clerks and county auditors. The city of Cincinnati in 1829 secured the passage of laws giving an independent organization to the city schools, and the power to levy special taxes. The statutes also provided for the erection of ten school-houses.

The cautious city council were reluctant to tax the people for the support of free schools, the richest objecting most to what they called the "charity schools." The common school advocates did all they could to advance the efficiency and promote the dignity of the "people's colleges." Showy public examinations of the children were held; distinguished visitors were invited to visit the schools; the pupils were paraded to band music along the principal streets on the Fourth of July. It was George Graham who conceived the idea of marching the schools through the city for popular effect. When the teachers refused to march he had them discharged. Graham asked the council for an appropriation to build a suitable school-house in his ward, then the Second Ward. They voted a pittance insufficient to build a good edifice. "I will not have such a house; I will build to suit myself." "Where will you get the money?" "None of your business!" was the saucy, but good-humored reply. The "model school-house," as it was called, was erected in the year 1833, on the west side of Race street, between Fourth and Fifth, nearly opposite the present Arcade. The cost was $5,500. Graham surmounted it with a cupola to catch the general eye. When he demanded of the city the cost, it was at first refused, but finally paid all except the price of the cupola. Eight

other similar buildings were afterward erected, the total expense for lots and buildings amounting to $96,159.44.

Fifty years ago the city teachers formed an association that met twice a month. The classification of pupils was perfected. Courses of study were improved. Changes took place in the organization and methods of the board of education. Provision for instruction in the German language was made in March, 1840. Night schools were started in 1842. The Central High School was created in 1747, and it continued in operation until 1851, when it was merged in Hughes and Woodward, whose funds were united and put in trust of a union board. In 1850, the office of superintendent was created, and four years later the gradation of the schools was improved by the introduction of intermediate schools. Since that date a normal school has been added to our educational facilities, and, to crown the system, the Cincinnati University and the Public Library have been established on secure foundations.

The principles formulated by Guilford and Lewis, and discussed in the College of Teachers, have been accepted by all classes. The unpopular experiments of George Graham, succeeding, have become historical events gratefully remembered. The model school-house of 1833, propagating its kind by multiplication, has produced fifty-seven buildings, some of which are palatial in size.

The proceedings of the college in the years 1834–1840, inclusive, are contained in six volumes of "Transactions," a set of books now rare and valuable. The proceedings of the year 1837 were first made public in the pages of the "Western Academician and Journal of Science and Education," a periodical edited by John W. Pickett, to which the principal contributors were Albert Pickett, Alexander Kinmont, Joseph Ray, Rev. Elijah Slack, Wm. Wood, John D. Craig, Rev. B. P. Aydelott, W. H. McGuffey, Samuel Lewis, and Julia L. Dumont.

The "College of Teachers" continued to assemble annually for some years after it ceased to publish its transactions. The sessions of 1843 and 1844 were held in Louis-

ville. The far-reaching influence of the body is indicated by the fact that delegates came to its meetings from the states of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, and the Territories of Iowa and Wisconsin. People crowded to its daily sessions, which were held in the largest churches, and listened to the essays and addresses with breathless attention and semi-religious enthusiasm.

The professional teachers called to their support the shining lights of the pulpit, the bar, and the press. Such distinguished representative men as Beecher, Campbell, Purcell, J. M. Peck, Drake, Grimke, joined in the discussions with all their force and fervor. The best scholars of the West brought their best learning to the convocation. Mansfield thought it doubtful "whether in one association, and in an equal time, there was ever concentrated in this country a larger measure of talent, information, and zeal." Mr. Gallagher said: "Perhaps the most important literary institution in the West, and certainly one of the most interesting in the world, is the College of Professional Teachers." Through its influence the office of State Superintendent of Schools was created for Ohio, and one of its members, Samuel Lewis, was the first to administer the office.

The college encouraged formation of adjunct societies, being in fact the mother of the teachers' institute system in the West. It gave birth, in 1841, to the "Cincinnati Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge." This "Great Western Academy of the Sciences and Literature" was planned on a most ambitious scale, mainly by Prof. O. M. Mitchel, and was to embrace fourteen sections devoted to teaching exact science, natural science, practical arts, fine arts, medicine, law, politics, philosophy, history, language, commerce, literature, and statistics. The membership included most of those in the Teachers' College, with many additional notables.

The organization had too many aims to hit any thing

in particular. The most important section that survived was the astronomical, which, under the fostering care of Mitchel, came to fruition in the Cincinnati Observatory.

The energy of the College of Teachers was transmitted to different institutions—the Mechanics' Institute, various libraries, schools of medicine and law, the Historical Society, and the Academy of Fine Arts. The impulse which it gave to popular education spread throughout the State of Ohio and throughout the nation, and the schools of to-day inherit a legacy of vital force from that vigorous pioneer institution.

Mr. Mansfield took a leading part in the discussions and business of the College of Teachers. The proof-sheets of his Political Grammar were submitted to that body for criticism in 1834. Several of his addresses are published in the "Transactions," among them one on "The Study of Mathematics," and another on "The Qualifications of Teachers." Years after the "College" had ceased to exist, he produced a book entitled "American Education; its Principles and Elements," which was published by A. S. Barnes & Co., and which still holds its place in the popular series known as "The School Teachers' Library." Mansfield suggested the formation of a complete library of education in Cincinnati. He was urgent for the establishment of normal schools; and in 1835 he proposed that a great national association of teachers should be founded by delegations from "New England, the Middle States, the South, and the Great Valley of the West." His labors in the furtherance of education continued to the close of his life. One of his favorite projects undertaken in connection with O. M. Mitchel was to form a convocation of Ohio colleges, that is, "to unite them in general and university purposes, not interfering with the particular rights and instruction of the colleges."

Cincinnati College was revived in 1835, with departments of medicine, law, and literature. The faculty of the literary department consisted of Wm. H. McGuffey, president and professor of moral and mental philosophy; O. M. Mitchel, professor of mathematics and astronomy;

Asa Drury, professor of ancient languages; Chas. L. Telford, professor of rhetoric and belles-lettres; E. D. Mansfield, professor of constitutional law and history; Lyman Harding, principal of the preparatory department; and Joseph Herron, principal of the primary department.

Mr. Mansfield's duties as professor were light, being confined to a series of lectures on the law of equity and another series on the history of civilization. But the task of editing the Chronicle, which was devolved upon him also, was by no means a sinecure. Writing for the press was, in fact, the business of E. D. Mansfield's life. Though he wrote ten books, and twice as many pamphlets, we may regard this form of authorship as but a large incident in a career dedicated to journalism. In the last chapter of his last book he says: "My first newspaper article was published in 1824, at Litchfield, Connecticut. In the more than half century which has elapsed there has been no year in which I have not written for the press." The manuscript articles found in his library after his decease cover more than 200,000 pages.

From 1853 to 1871 he edited the Railroad Record. In 1857 he was editor of the Cincinnati Gazette, and he continued on the editorial staff of that newspaper as long as he lived, writing over the familiar initials, E. D. M. To the New York Times, edited by his friend, H. J. Raymond, he contributed a series of political articles under the signature of "Veteran Observer." He was a publicist, a writer on current subjects of common interest. In such hand as his the pen becomes a material power to bring about tangible results. Manufacture, trade, financial expedients were affected by his newspaper columns. Though never rich himself, his practical thinking enriched corporations and individuals. Especially was he active and efficient in promoting railroad enterprises. The Cincinnati Southern Railroad was projected in his mind fifty years before it was completed. Not only was his pen diligent for near half a century in the advocacy of a railroad to the South; he traveled, made maps, made speeches, and persuaded capital for the accomplishment of the plan.

Mansfield's familiarity with the material conditions of the country was such that when, in 1858, Governor Chase made him Commissioner of Statistics for Ohio, the public saw the fitness of the appointment. For ten years he held the office, making a reputation as a specialist, and winning the honor of an election to the "Society of Universal Statistics," in Paris. In his own state he was regarded as the highest authority in facts and figures. In the war-time, his calculations and prophetic judgments were eagerly read and much trusted by the people. Almost every day an article appeared over his initials in the Gazette. I have a vivid recollection of a scene which I witnessed in the counting-room of that newspaper, on the north-east corner of Vine and Fourth streets, in one of the early years of the civil war. Mr. Mansfield was there, and a crowd of citizens had gathered to hear his views of the "situation." While he was talking, a thick-set, weather-tanned, push-your-way man, wearing a plain dress and a slouched hat, appeared at the door. Some one immediately recognized the sturdy war governor of Indiana and spoke the name Morton. Mansfield caught the word, and instantly his tall, erect, and somewhat gauntly muscular form pressed through the crowd. "Are you Governor Morton?" he asked, for he had never met the man, though he admired him and had applauded his course. "Yes; and you are—?" "E. D. M.," replied the editor; and the two embraced each other with a heartiness that brought a storm of applause from the amused spectators.

Mansfield's books, like his other writings, are of the useful or the expository order, rather than the purely literary. His "American Education" is a concise, suggestive and philosophical treatise, clear in statement, correct in facts, earnest in the advocacy of learning, virtue, patriotism and religion. The chapter on "The Education of Women," based on the proposition that "the human soul has no sex," is the best chapter in the book. The author's estimate of woman was always high; he regarded the sex with chivalrous respect, and at the same time conceded its claims to legal equality with men. To gallantry he

added justice. One of his first books was on "The Legal Rights of Women."

In 1846 Mansfield published "The Life of Winfield Scott," and in 1848 its sequel, a history of "The Mexican War." Twenty years later he published a "Life of U. S. Grant." All these books are clear, authentic, and dignified. They abound in historical and political truth, and glow with ardent love of whatsoever things are right and pure. Though an intense partisan, a Whig of the Whigs, and a Republican of the Republicans, he never allowed party dust to obscure his vision of the field of conduct; his public character was untainted, and his name was above suspicion.

The volumes by which he will be remembered longest are his "Daniel Drake" (1855), and his "Personal Memories" (1879). These contain the true juice of the man—the wine of his nature. The two books are really one, for the "Personal Memories" reproduces the more interesting parts of the "Life of Drake." In the earlier work the author, with a young man's literary pride, put forth his best efforts at fine writing; the last book, composed when the veteran was in his eightieth year, is simple and direct, without waste of words, or rhetorical vanities of any kind. The old man tells his story, with delightful frankness, from the date of his birth to the year 1843. The volume is a rich sheaf gleaned from a wide field of recollection.

E. D. Mansfield was married twice. His first wife, Mary Wallace Mansfield, *née* Peck, was a lovely and accomplished lady of Litchfield, Connecticut. I think four children were born of this union, only two of whom survived infancy. The eldest of these, Edward Jared, became a civil engineer; he died in 1870, unmarried. A second son, Charles, graduated at Marietta College, and studied law with his kinsman, Alexander H. McGuffey. He practiced his profession for some years in Cincinnati, then received an appointment as paymaster in the navy. He married a Miss Beck, of Missouri, and now lives, I believe, in Rhode Island, at Narragansett Pier.

The second wife of E. D. Mansfield was Margaret, the fourth daughter of Hon. Thomas Worthington, second governor of Ohio. The marriage took place April 24, 1839, in the old capital of Ohio, Chillicothe, at the historic homestead, "Adena," which Benson J. Lossing describes in his "Field-Book of the War of 1812," in these words: "It is situated upon the same ridge, two hundred feet above the Scioto, and half a mile north from McArthur's mansion. It overlooks the same valleys, and, because of the beauty of its situation, it was called 'Adena,' or Paradise. The building is of hewn sandstone, and was erected in 1805, at great expense, under the supervision of the elder Latrobe, of Washington city."

Another daughter of Governor Worthington became wife of General Edward King, and mother of his son, Hon. Rufus King,[1] the honored Cincinnati lawyer, and

[1] Hon. Rufus King, son of General Edward King, and grandson of Rufus King, the statesman, who helped to make the national Constitution and the Ordinance of 1787, was born in Chillicothe, Ohio, May 30, 1817. His mother, Sarah, the eldest daughter of Governor Worthington, was distinguished as a philanthropist and patron of art and literature. By a second marriage (in 1844) she became Mrs. Peter, the name by which she is remembered in Cincinnati. A memoir of her has been published. She founded the "Ladies' Academy of Art," the forerunner of the Cincinnati School of Design.

Rufus King began his education at Kenyon College, Ohio, and was graduated at Harvard, first from the academic department and then from the law school. He was admitted to the bar in Cincinnati in 1841. In 1843 he was married to Miss Margaret Rives, daughter of Dr. Landon Rives. He rose to distinction in his profession, and was very active and efficient in serving the higher interests of the public. Much of his time, energy, and fortune were given for the promotion of education, science, history, and art. Mr. King was for years a leading member of the Public School Board, and was a founder of the Public Library. He was one of the incorporators of the Law Library, and perhaps its chief sustainer. He was a trustee of Cincinnati University, and of Cincinnati College. There is scarcely a literary institution in the Queen City that has not been aided by his counsel and liberality. The general recognition of his worth was voiced by Hon. Wm. S. Groesbeck, who, at a memorial meeting in the United States Court room, March 28, 1891, said: "Rufus King was the most valuable citizen Cincinnati ever had." Mr. King died March 25, 1891. Always interested in literary matters, a reader of books and a friend of authors, Mr. King was himself a strong and graceful writer. In the days of his early man-

author of the "History of Ohio." Thus, by relationship of marriage, Mr. Mansfield was closely allied to the King family.

Mrs. Margaret Mansfield died at the homestead, "Yamoyden," near the village of Morrow, Warren county, Ohio, in 1863. She left one son, now Lieutenant F. W. Mansfield, of the regular army, and three daughters, Mrs. Dudley, wife of Rev. A. S. Dudley, of Granville, Ohio; Mrs. Eleanor M. Swiggert, wife of Rev. Swiggert, of Morrow, Ohio; and Miss Edith D. Mansfield, of Morrow.

I am indebted to Mrs. Swiggert for a succinct and admirable account of her father's leading characteristics. The impartial fidelity of the portraiture will be recognized by all readers who knew Mr. Mansfield:

"Mr. Mansfield was a thorough American—a believer in both the present and future of this nation, an encourager of American institutions, American education, American manufactures, and American people. For the latter he worked with brain, heart, and pen as long as he lived. He had a great contempt for those Americans who can see no good in America, but try to ape European ways.

"He was also thoroughly a nineteenth century man, a believer in progress, a despiser of all croakers who say 'the former times were better than these.' He was a great believer in work as a blessing, not a curse; a more industrious man never lived. He would say, when it was urged in his later years that he should take more rest, 'Better wear out than rust out!' His mind was vigorous, clear and cheerful; his interest in all the affairs of life wonderful. He was in every thing a radical; a believer in sides, he would often say laughingly to me, 'My daughter, I am a partisan;' he could not be neutral or indifferent. He was a Christian in every sense of the word, and a believer in the coming of Christ as the ruler of the whole earth. He had neither patience nor

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hood he was a contributor to the Evening Chronicle, a paper conducted by his uncle, Mr. E. D. Mansfield. The only volume he gave to the world is a History of Ohio, one of the American Commonwealths series, published in 1888.

toleration with infidels, and was strongly opposed to the foreign element of infidelity struggling for rule in this country. He was brought up an Episcopalian, but united with the Presbyterian Church after his marriage with my mother, his second wife, in 1839, and was long an elder in the Second Presbyterian Church of Cincinnati. One of the pioneers of Cincinnati, no man better loved her interests, or was more thoroughly identified with them, or did more for the growth and good of the city. Ever interested in the public school system, he was both a professor and a trustee of the Cincinnati College of Teachers. He is best known as a writer. Besides writing for and at different times editing both the Cincinnati Gazette and Chronicle, he wrote (during the war) for the New York Times as a 'Veteran Observer,' and his articles attracted great attention. Besides these and other papers, he wrote for many different periodicals, the Railroad Journal, and also many pamphlets for the different railroads of the country; also for the manufacturing interests of the coal and iron men. In fact, it would be impossible to enumerate all his writings, which were marked, according to the subjects, by clear, strong knowledge, statements of facts, and, when on ethics, by a broad, hopeful, Christian tone. There was never an uncertain ring to any of his enunciations by mouth or pen. He never, in religion, politics or morals, stood 'on the fence,' or hid behind sophistries; and I laughed the other day over an old letter, written by some political enemy forty or more years ago, advising him to take more pains to hide his sentiments! An old-time Whig and a strong Republican, he was never ashamed of his views. His last writing for the public was his rallying cry to the men of his party for Garfield, 'Forward, Republicans.' In private life he was the most delightful of companions, cheerful and entertaining, with a fund of anecdote which did more to educate us, his children, than all the preachments and lectures of the most learned dominie could do. He knew so much, and knew where to get information, and shared it with us all—read his articles

aloud to us before they went to press, and asked our opinions of them. He was so modest and unassuming always —approachable by all, and yet too dignified to permit the slightest familiarity. He was wonderfully charitable and courteous. Surely, it might be said of him that he had malice toward none. A graduate of Princeton, also of West Point, the son of a man himself learned and distinguished, with a mother of strong mind and literary tastes, and of a social position which gave him unusual facilities for knowing the best society, he had, of course, great advantages, and used them well. But God gave him his strongest weapons in a broad mind, cheerful disposition, and a constitution not vigorous but of wonderful vitality. His life was pure and he had nothing to hide; no 'wild oats' were ever sown by him. His records at West Point and Princeton were unassailable, either as a student or man. He was a hard worker, using the morning hours and part of the afternoon for writing, up to the last ten years of his life, then only the morning, rarely or never writing at night. Fond of society and fitted to shine in it, yet a great lover of nature; enjoying companionship, yet never afraid to be alone, full of resources, he was never at a loss for occupation."

Edward Deering Mansfield died October 27, 1880, at his country home, "Yamoyden," near Morrow, Ohio. The following tribute to his memory was written at Fern Rock, Pewee Valley, Kentucky, October 28, 1880, by his old friend, Wm. D. Gallagher.

I.

Yamoyden's halls are filled with grief,
  Miami's groves are sere;
Where lies the fallen autumn leaf,
  Falls many a heartfelt tear;
For one has passed from life who knew
  These haunts from side to side,
While yet rang loud the settler's ax
  As fell the forest's pride.
No devious courses led astray
  His feet; from earliest youth
He sought and found and *kept* the way
  Of Justice and of Truth.

No wild ambitions fired his heart,
  Or clothed his arm with might;
His manhood struck resounding blows,
  But ever for the Right.

II.

Yamoyden's halls are silent now,
  Miami's waters moan,
As present, though afar, I bow
  In grief, but not alone;
For round me living spirits close
  That knew him well through life,
But who before him passed away
  From earthly toil and strife;
His place is vacant now, but long
  Shall his example live,
And to the heart that would be strong
  Its better lessons give.
Lean to him, youth, and tread the ways
  So long he nobly trod;
Regard him age and follow him
  From manhood up to God.

CHAPTER XV.

WILLIAM DAVIS GALLAGHER, POET, EDITOR, AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL.

William Davis Gallagher, poet, editor, and public official, was born in Philadelphia, August 21, 1808. His father, Bernard Gallagher, familiarly called "Barney," was an Irishman, a Roman Catholic, a participant in the rebellion that, in 1803, cost Robert Emmett his life. "Barney" Gallagher migrated to the United States, landing at the City of Brotherly Love, where, by the aid of John Binns, editor of the "Shamrock," he obtained work. Some time afterward he became acquainted with Miss Abigail Davis, of Bridgeport, New Jersey, who had been sent to Philadelphia by her widowed mother, to complete, at Quaker school, an education begun at home. "Abbey" Davis was the daughter of a Welsh farmer, who, volunteering in the Revolutionary War, lost his life under Washington at Valley Forge. The Irish refugee and the Welch patriot's daughter were so much attracted to each other that they joined their lives in wedlock. Four sons, Edward, Francis, William, and John were the issue of this marriage. The third was a child not eight years old when the father died. On his death-bed Bernard Gallagher refused to confess to his ministering priest the secrets of Free Masonry, which order he had joined, and the church not only refused him burial in consecrated grounds, but also condemned his body to be exposed to public derision in front of his own door; and the execution of this sentence was prevented by application for police interference. This was in 1814.

Two years after her husband's death, Mrs. Gallagher and her four sons, joining a small "Jersey Colony," removed West, crossing the mountains in a four-horsed and four-belled wagon of the old time, and floating

down the Ohio river from Pittsburg to Cincinnati in a strongly built and well-provided flat-boat of the period. The boy William amused himself during the whole "river voyage" by fishing out of the window of the boat. "I was sorry," said he, "when the boat landed and put an end to my fun."

The widow and her family located on a farm near Mount Healthy, now Mount Pleasant, Hamilton county, in the neighborhood of the Carys. Mrs. Gallagher and the mother of Alice and Phœbe Cary were near of kin, and the children of the two families were, of course, intimate.

Young William was put to work by his mother and his uncle at the various tasks a country lad is expected to do. In winter he attended school in a log school-house. The teacher's name was Samuel Woodworth, whose scholars always addressed him as "Sir" Woodworth, such was the law of manners and the dignity of the preceptor's office in those days. Under guidance of "Sir" Woodworth, Master Gallagher grew familiar with the literary treasures of the "American Reader" and the "Columbian Orator." The boy was fond of these books, and still more enamored of the rosy-cheeked girls of Mount Healthy. Envious rivals taunted him by calling him "girl-boy," and the jeer caused fist-fights and bleeding noses. Not even the charms of the bare-footed maidens at spelling-school "worked with such a spell" on "Billy" (for that was his nickname), as did the attractions of the woods. What so seductive to the natural boy as the unfenced forests? What so much coveted as freedom to ramble over the hills and far away? Gallagher's ruling instinct, in boyhood and manhood, was admiration of nature—especially love of woodland scenery.[1] His young feet trod every hill and valley about Mount Healthy and along Mill creek, whose remembered banks he long after celebrated as "Mahketewa's Flowery Marge." Well did he know the wild flowers and native birds. He plucked spicy grapes, or luscious pawpaws,

[1] In the summer of 1890, Mr. Gallagher, then in his eighty-second year, visiting friends in the suburbs of Cincinnati, took a long ramble, every day, in the woods, with a company of girls and boys.

in season, and gathered hoards of hickory nuts to crack by the winter fire. In summer weather, he found hidden springs, and traced wandering brooks from source to mouth.

One day the prepossessing boy, with his cheerful, ruddy face, was observed by a Mrs. Graham, of Clermont county, Ohio, who was visiting at Mount Healthy. Mrs. Graham was so much pleased with "Billy" that she begged his mother to allow him to return to Clermont county with her, and live there for a time and do "chores." "Want my boy?" said the widow mother, with tears of protest. Yet, on reflection, she consented to the proposal, and William went with the lady to Clermont county, where, for perhaps a year, he worked at "Graham's Mill." After his return home he resumed farm-work on the place of David Jessup. The toil was hard, but relief was found in stolen escapes to the woods; or to Cummins's tan-yard, where some pet bears were kept; or to Spring Grove, where was a herd of tame buffaloes. Sometimes he was sent to Irving's Mill, and while waiting for his grist he would sit under a certain tree, which to-day stands within the inclosure of Spring Grove Cemetery, and read one of his few books, usually the "Columbian Orator."

The routine of the youth's drudgery was broken by the thoughtful interest of his oldest brother Edward, who, visiting the Jessup farm, saw that William was working "like a nigger," as he expressed it, and insisted that the boy should be put to school. A consultation of mother, brother, and uncle was held, and it was decided that Billy should go to town and attend the Lancastrian Seminary, he promising not to waste time by truancy in the woods or along the alluring shores of the Ohio. The Lancastrian Seminary, conducted by Edmund Harrison, was opened in March, 1815. George Harrison, one of the sons of the principal, took a kindly interest in the ingenuous country boy, and gave him an opportunity, while yet a student in the school, to learn to "set type," in the office of a small paper called The Remembrancer, edited by Rev. David Root, pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church. The

paper was printed at a small office in a building up "old post-office alley," west of Main street, between Third and Fourth streets. Here Gallagher received his first lessons in the printer's art and in proof-reading. The most puzzling part of the work was to understand and correct the *poetry*, which seemed, to the embryo editor, absurd for the reason that it was not written in prose. "I wondered," said he, referring to this experience after a lapse of sixty years, "why the stupid contributors didn't put what they had to say plainly, instead of cutting it up ridiculously, in short lines, with capitals at one end and rhymes at the other."

In 1826, Hon. James W. Gazlay started an agricultural paper called The Western Tiller, and young Gallagher was employed as general assistant in its management. Not only did he attend to the mechanical department, but he also ventured to write, and became so expert with the pen that, on occasion, Gazlay left him in charge of the paper, jokingly declaring that "Billy" had superseded him as editor.

Mr. Gazlay disposed of The Tiller in 1828 to Wm. J. Ferris, and Gallagher's services were then engaged, for a time, by Mr. S. J. Brown, proprietor of the Cincinnati Emporium, a newspaper founded in 1824. Brown was personally remarkable for his lisping, and he often boasted that he was "thole editor of the Thinthinnati Emporium." Gallagher's connection with the Emporium was brief. His next newspaper experience was with the Commercial Register, the first daily in Cincinnati. This journal, edited by Morgan Neville and published by S. S. Brooks, survived only six months. While engaged on the Register, Gallagher was requested by his brother Francis to take part in the joint production of a new literary periodical. With precipitate zeal the brothers plunged into the enterprise, and the Western Minerva was born almost as soon as conceived. This new daughter of Jove was named in the classic style of the time, and after an eastern magazine then flourishing. The Western Minerva, notwithstanding its divine name, died in about a year, and hardly deserves

"tooth-and-toe-nails" campaign newspaper, at Xenia, Ohio. Even the mother's new house was sold to provide an outfit for a small printing office, and, in a short time, the Backwoodsman[1] was issued, a sheet devoted generally to hurrahing for Clay and specially to using up Jimmy Gardner, editor of the Jackson organ at Xenia. Gallagher was elated to see his first leader copied in the National Journal, and to learn that Clay himself had read it with approval. In the course of the campaign, a banquet was given to the Ashland hero, at Yellow Springs, Ohio, on which occasion the modest editor of the Backwoodsman was surprised and abashed on finding that the committee of arrangements had trapped him into a seat just opposite the great statesman, who, it appears, requested to have an opportunity of talking with "that bright young man from Xenia who writes so well."

All this was pleasant enough; but the Backwoodsman, despite its cleverness, was doomed to fail with the failing political fortunes of its idol. The man who "would rather be right than be President" was not chosen President, and consequently Gallagher's labor of love was lost, and with it all his money and much of his self-confidence.

One of the pleasant incidents of Gallagher's life at Xenia took place in the office of the Backwoodsman in the summer of 1830. One day a gentleman called and asked to see the editor. The printer's devil ran up stairs where Gallagher was at work, and gave the message: "A man down there wants to see you; he says his name is Prentice." He of the Backwoodsman, in a flurry, would brush up and wash his inky hands before presenting himself to the late editor of the New England Review, but George shouts from below, "Never mind black fingers!" and the next minute the two young journalists meet and join hands. Prentice was on his way to Lexington to prepare his "Life of Clay."

By far the most important event of Mr. Gallagher's life

[1] The Backwoodsman was started March 20, 1830. The price was two dollars a year. The paper had literary features, and gave some space to agriculture.

at Xenia was his marriage to Miss Emma Adamson, a daughter of Captain Adamson, of Boston.

Some brilliant worldly expectations had been built on the assumption that Clay would be President; and when the campaign ended in disappointment, the newly wedded pair knew not which way to look for a living. Just about this dark time it came into the mind of John H. Wood, a Cincinnati book-seller, to start a literary paper in connection with his business, and he invited Gallagher to take editorial charge of it at a guaranteed salary. The offer was accepted gladly, and, turning over the care of the fast-expiring Backwoodsman to his brother Francis, William took stage with his pretty wife and hastened to Cincinnati, and presently began his first important literary labor, the management of the Cincinnati Mirror. This was the fourth literary periodical published west of the Alleghany mountains. Its prototype, the New York Mirror, was a well established and influential journal. The new paper, a quarto, excellently printed on good paper, and of attractive appearance, was issued semi-monthly. The first two volumes were edited by Gallagher solely. At the beginning of the third year Gallagher formed a partnership with Thomas H. Shreve, and the two became proprietors of the publication. It was enlarged and issued weekly under the name, Cincinnati Mirror and Western Gazette of Literature. In April, 1835, the Chronicle, then owned by Rev. James H. Perkins, was merged in the Mirror, and Perkins shared the editorship of the periodical. The concern was sold, October, 1835, to James B. Marshall, who united with it a publication called the Buckeye, and named it the Buckeye and Cincinnati Mirror. Within three months Marshall sold out to Flash and Ryder, book-sellers on Third street, who engaged Gallagher and Shreve to resume control of the once more plain Cincinnati Mirror. All now went on smoothly until Gallagher offended Mr. Ryder by refusing to print matter indorsing Tom Paine's irreligious views. A quarrel followed, and both Gallagher and Shreve resigned. They were succeeded by J. Reese Fry, who, though he had fair

editorial ability, could not prevent the Mirror from sinking to final extinction within two months.

The Mirror never paid its way, though it had an extensive circulation in the Mississippi Valley. Its contents embraced original and selected tales, essays, poetry, biographical and historical sketches, reviews of and extracts from new books, and a compendium of the news of the day. Nearly all the leading western writers contributed to it. Among these were Timothy Flint, J. A. McClung, John B. Dillon, Harvey D. Little, Morgan Neville, Benjamin Drake, Mrs. Julia Dumont, and Mrs. Lee Hentz. From the East, Mr. Whittier contributed at least one poem—"Lines on a Portrait."

When, in 1832, Mr. Gallagher held this literary "Mirror" up to nature and art on the banks of the Ohio, Bryant was but thirty-eight years old, Longfellow and Whittier but twenty-five, Poe twenty-one, and Howells lacked five years of being born. The backwoods editor's comments on contemporary literature read curiously in the light of present reputations. Encouraging mention is made of a fifty-dollar prize story, "A New England Sketch, by Miss Beecher, of this city." The reviewer says the story "is written with great sprightliness, humor, and pathos," and that "none but an intelligent and observant lady could possibly have written it." In a notice of "Mogg Megone," Whittier is discriminatingly heralded as a "man whom his countrymen will yet delight to honor. Some of his early writings are among the happiest juvenile productions with which we are acquainted." The complacent editor mentions "Outre Mer" favorably, saying that it was written by Professor Longfellow, "who is very well known to American readers," and that "it is for sale at Josiah Drake's bookstore on Main street."

Mr. Gallagher wrote much for the Mirror in prose and verse, and his editorials, sketches, and poems were widely copied. One of his pieces, a carefully finished short essay, entitled "The Unbeliever," was credited to Dr. Chalmers, and appeared in a school reader with that classic divine's name attached.

Still another very interesting club may be referred to here, though it arose somewhat later than those mentioned. It was called the "Forty-Twos," from the circumstance that, at its founding, all of its members were over forty-one years of age and under forty-three. The "Forty-Twos" met in the law office of Salmon P. Chase, on Third street (the office in which Donn Piatt says the Republican party was born). Among its members, besides Chase and Gallagher, were Samuel Eels, Jordan A. Pugh, and Charles L. Telford. The club was larger than that of the "Tags," and had more of a social nature, but it did a great deal in the way of developing a literary taste in Cincinnati.

It was before the appearance of the Mirror that W. D. Gallagher won his first laurels for poetical achievement. Some verses of his called "The Wreck of the Hornet," published anonymously, went the rounds of the American press, and were ascribed to the pen of Bryant. The success of this fugitive piece gave its author confidence to produce others, and he was soon recognized as the leading imaginative writer of the West.

In the spring of 1835 he published a little book of thirty-six pages, entitled "Erato No. I," dedicated to Timothy Flint. The naming of his collection after a lyric muse was suggested, probably, by the example of Percival, who, a dozen years before, had put forth "Clio No. I." and "Clio No. II." Gallagher's maiden venture was received with favor; and, in August, 1835, "Erato No. II." was issued, and this was followed, two years later, by "Erato No. III." A long and laudatory review of these booklets appeared in the Southern Literary Messenger for July, 1838. The reviewer says: "It is to be regretted that, in justice to the poet, these volumes were not published in one of the Atlantic cities, inasmuch as it would have extended the reputation of the author, and given currency to his works, which a Western press can not secure to them. The Atlantic side of the Alleghanies is sufficiently controlled by that kind of prejudice in relation to ultramontane literature, that led one, some two

is fair and open, denoting intellectual strength, with softened outlines, and is the index of the graceful character of his mind." The allusion in this description to Gallagher's "haughty carriage," recalls the fact that the boys in the printing office used to call him William "Dignity" Gallagher.

Neither his handsome person, nor his versatile talents brought much hard cash. Deprived of the salary which he had received as editor of the Mirror, the poet found himself in the unpoetical condition of a man with a wife to support on no income whatever. He wrote to Otway Curry: "I must do something to raise a little money, for I am almost too badly clad to appear in the street." Grasping at an invisible straw, he issued a prospectus for a weekly paper, the Cincinnati Spectator and Family News-Letter, but the name was all of the paper that ever appeared. However, in June, 1836, Messrs. Smith and Day projected a Western Literary Journal and Monthly Review, and Gallagher was called to edit it. Mark the western tone and confident air of this passage from the opening number: "Let us, who are in the enjoyment of a triune youthfulness, being young as a people, young in years, and young as a literary community, endeavor to approach the fathers of English poetry. Let us discard the affectation of parlor prettiness, waxwork niceties, and milliner-like conceits. Let us turn our lady-pegasus out to pasture, and mount coursers of speed and mettle. Let us give over our pacing and ambling, and dash off with a free rein." To these imperative appeals the readers of the journal were probably insensible; at any rate they did not pay liberally for such exhortation, and the starving editor's starving periodical gave up the ghost, aged one year. The lively ghost flew to Louisville and was there re-embodied, being merged in the Western Monthly Magazine, which Judge Hall sold to James B. Marshall in 1836. The combined publication forming the Western Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal was to be issued simultaneously from Cincinnati and Louisville. Gallagher was employed to edit it, and he entered upon

editor, in his opening "Budget," confesses that his past ten years' exertions in behalf of literature "have been fruitless to himself of every thing but experience," yet he finds courage to make one more attempt, "because he loves the pursuit—because he thinks he can be useful in it—because he is convinced there is, throughout the whole West, a great demand and a growing necessity for labor in it—and because he believes that under present auspices it can be made to yield at least a *quid pro quo*."

The Hesperian was jealously Western, as its name sufficiently suggests, but it was by no means narrow, shallow, or provincial. Its watchwords were Freedom, Education, Manhood, Fair Play. The contents were wide-ranging—geographical, historical, biographical, political, poetical, agricultural, theological, romantic, and fictitious. Among his contributors were the Drakes, Shreve, Perkins, Neville, Prentice, W. G. Simms, S. P. Hildreth, C. P. Cranch, I. A. Jewett, A. Kinmont, R. Dale Owen, Jas W. Ward, Mrs. Sigourney, Mrs. Lee Hentz, Amelia B. Welby, and many others worthy to hold a permanent place in literature. Gallagher himself wrote copiously and very ably for the Hesperian. In its pages appeared his most ambitious story, "The Dutchman's Daughter," which, though crude and ill-sustained as a whole, has descriptive passages that would grace the pen of Irving.

The Hesperian was transferred from Columbus to Cincinnati in April, 1839. The editor procured a room in the third story of a brick house on Third street, east of Main—a room ten by twelve, with a door and a single window. "And in this small place," writes he gayly to his wife, "Emma, dear," on May Day, "the renowned editor of the Hesperian is to read, write, eat, drink, go to bed, get up, and entertain his friends." To Curry he wrote, lugubriously quoting Mother Goose, "I have so many children I do n't know what to do." Again to Mrs. Gallagher, on May 15, "I inclose you three dollars, all the money I have, and I hope it will last you till I can get and furnish you some more." This period was the proverbial darkest hour just before day-break. The "Probus"

he could do better than he had yet done, and Shreve ditto; and, while I held their requests for the privilege of inserting an *original*, under advisement, along came your *voluntary*. This, as there was no impropriety in deviating from the first plan thus made, decided me. Perkins, I think, will have an original likewise; and, in the forewritten verses,[1] you have one of my own. I do not wish it known, however, that the volume contains *any thing* specially prepared for it.

"I had not room in my last letter to detail to you the whole of my design. The volume of 'Selections from the Poetical Literature of the West' is but the first feature of it. My intention is to follow this up in regular order by three other volumes, of 'Selections from the Polite Literature of the West,' 'Selections from the Pulpit Literature of the West,' and 'Selections from the Political Literature of the West.' Don't wipe those old *specs* of yours so hard, now. I've been looking over the level *prairies* of these intellectual regions, and I find in them materials enough for all I have contemplated. The truth is, Curry, this Transmontane world is a most glorious one, and I can't help trying to do something for its literary character, engage in whatsoever else I may, and starve, as I fear I must at this. I suppose these several volumes will come out at intervals of from five to six months, till the whole shall have been published.

"About your 'Veiled Prophet,' I feel some anxiety. Burton's new theater, I understand, has been open for a number of weeks, yet I hear nothing either of Jemmy Thorn or from him. The first one of our citizens whom I find starting for Philadelphia I shall get to call upon Burton and make personal inquiry, etc., with reference to it.

"About that congress of lunatics which you suggest: Perkins thinks well of it, Shreve thinks well of it, Curry thinks well of it, and Gallagher thinks well of it; and each of these distinguished men, doubtless, will willingly

[1] A poem entitled "Little Children," inclosed in the letter to Curry.

meet, lunaticise, and go home again. What further than this, while the matter is so entirely a new suggestion, can I say? Give us your plan, and if it be as good and feasible as I presume it is, you will find us readily and actively seconding your motion.

"And now, my dear fellow, a word in your ear confidentially. I am very busy now-a-days, and should not therefore have replied to your last so promptly but that I want very much to be 'astonished jist.' So crack your whip, and let us know what that 'something' is, about which you prate so bigly. Thine as ever,

"W. D. GALLAGHER.

"P. S.—Write me down, if you please, richer since day before yesterday, by another child, and poorer by what it will cost to keep it. This makes the fifth, all alive and kicking, and able to eat mush with the children of any Clodhopper in the land."

That Gallagher's inclinations kept pulling him toward literature for some years after he became a political editor, is evident from a breezy letter written to Curry in August, 1844:

"DEAR CURRY:—Upon accurate calculation, the time of the rising of the new literary comet of the West has been determined. You and other benighted people in your region may look for a luminous streak in the heavens at 9 h. 10 m. 11 sec., October 1, 1844. After this announcement, my dear fellow, can you remain idle? I hope not, for the sake of the new experiment, the credit of your name, and the honor of your friend, who pledged to Messrs. Judson and Hine an article from your pen for the first number, and probably one for the second, and another for the third. The work is to be gotten out in the handsomest style, and you will have the pleasure of appearing in good company. Lay aside your political pen, therefore, shut up your law books, mount Pegasus, or some comely prose nag, and away to the free fields! What do you say? Shall I have something from you to hand over

Treasury, Washington. All Right. W. D. Gallagher, New Orleans." Returning to Washington, Gallagher resumed his labors as private secretary. One day he found among the papers which it was his duty to examine a letter signed by some of his old Cincinnati friends, suggesting that an extra compensation of not less than $1,000 should be given him as an appropriate acknowledgment of his general services to the Whig party and to the government. He showed the letter to another officer of the department, who was pleased with it, saying: "There is precedent enough for such extra compensation for similar services, and it is all right—but do you think the secretary will consent to it?" "I don't think he will ever have an opportunity to consent to it," Gallagher replied, and threw the letter into the grate and burned it up. "You ought not to have done that, Gallagher," remarked Mr. H—, "but—" "Perhaps not; but no personal friends of mine shall ever be tempted by other personal friends to do any thing for me like that proposed." Within an hour Mr. Corwin came back to the department from a visit to the president. Mr. H—, good-naturedly, mentioned the matter to him, whereupon he sent, by messenger, a request that Gallagher would step into his room. When the latter presented himself, Corwin, with a very solemn expression upon his face, said, not angrily, but with sternness in his tone, "Gallagher, are you in the habit, as my private secretary, of destroying such of my private letters as you happen not to like?" "Governor, you have no idea that I could do any thing of the sort. I destroyed one such letter awhile ago, which concerned *me* more than it did you, and which, though meant as an act of friendship, ought not to have been written without my knowledge and consent. But I suppose you know all about it." The expression on Corwin's face at once relaxed, as he continued, "I wonder if —— and —— really supposed I would use the public money in that way. If they did, they were most damnably mistaken."

In the summer of 1852, Gallagher had an opportuni-

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